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Warsaw Pact Releases Figures on Force Strengths
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["Statement of the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee 'On the Correlation of Warsaw Pact and North Atlantic Alliance Force Strengths and Armaments in Europe and Adjoining Waters'"]

[Text] The Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee stresses the exceptional importance—for the cause of strengthening international peace, security, and trust—of the Soviet Union's unilateral steps to reduce its armed forces and armaments, including those in Europe, announced at the United Nations on 7 December 1988 by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Guided by the decisions of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee conferences in Budapest (1986), Berlin (1987), and Warsaw (1988) and proceeding on the premise of the defensive nature of the pact's military doctrine, the committee considers the prevention of war, halting the nuclear and conventional arms race, and switching to consistent disarmament, to be of paramount importance in the modern age. The armed forces of the Warsaw Pact and North Atlantic alliance in Europe must be such that neither of the alliances, while reliably securing their defense, possess the means to launch a surprise attack on the other side or launch offensive operations in general. This is the goal that the participants in the upcoming talks on reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe should seek to achieve.

The participants in the session confirm their resolve to promote the earliest start to these talks and the resumption of the work of the conference on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe. They advocate that these forums work toward an accord on the mutual elimination of existing asymmetries and imbalances on both a pan-European scale and in individual regions, substantial cuts in armed forces and armaments in Europe, and the development and expansion of already existing confidence measures in light of the limitation of military activity on the continent of Europe, and on the application of them to autonomous [samostoyatelnyy] air force and naval activity

The relevance of the proposal put forward by Warsaw Pact states back in March 1988 to carry out an official exchange between the two military-political alliances of numerical data on the armed forces and conventional arms of the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries in Europe increases in this regard. The NATO countries have not given a positive response to this proposal and have unilaterally published biased data based on a selective approach.

The Defense Ministers Committee continues to attach paramount importance to revealing the real data on Warsaw Pact and NATO Armed Forces and conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

At the same time it deems it necessary to show in a broader context the overall picture of the correlation of the military potential of the two military-political alliances in Europe. The armed forces form a single organism. The constituent parts—the ground forces, air forces, air defense forces, and naval forces—interact, supplement, and reinforce one another. Only a comprehensive analysis of them will permit a real correlation of forces to be made.

Proceeding from this, the Defense Ministers Committee has decided to publish numerical data on the number of the armed forces and the quantity of basic types of armaments possessed by the Warsaw Pact states, and also its assessment of the North Atlantic alliance's military forces in Europe and adjoining waters.

It is clear from the data cited in the tables (Appendixes 1 and 2) that while the ground forces and air forces are roughly equal the North Atlantic Treaty has a two-fold superiority over the Warsaw Pact in naval strength. The North Atlantic alliance is superior to the Warsaw Pact in terms of the number of strike aircraft of front-line (tactical) aviation and naval aviation, combat helicopters, and antitank missile systems. The Warsaw Pact side has superiority in tanks, tactical missile launchers, air defense troop combat interceptor planes, infantry combat vehicles, armored personnel carriers, and artillery. As far as naval armaments are concerned, NATO enjoys considerable superiority over the Warsaw Pact in terms of naval combat aircraft and the number of large surface ships, including aircraft carriers and other aircraft-carrying ships. The Warsaw Pact has a certain superiority in submarines armed with missiles and torpedoes.

The data cited are not, of course, designed to be utilized in their entirety as the starting parameters at future talks, which should be conducted in accordance with their mandate, or to replace the subject of the talks. However, this kind of comprehensive approach to the assessment of military forces in Europe should ultimately focus attention on the need to make the talks realistic in nature from the very outset and reject attempts to achieve unilateral advantages.

The military balance in Europe can, after taking all its components into account, be described as a rough parity which gives neither side the opportunity to count on a crucial military advantage. At the same time it is essential to radically reduce the present high level of concentration of armed forces and armaments in Europe in order to ensure stability in keeping with the principle of reasonable defense sufficiency.

The Defense Ministers Committee believes that the interests of European security demand the adoption of urgent measures aimed at removing existing imbalances and asymmetries, a substantial reduction of the most dangerous offensive kinds of armaments, the attainment of reduced levels of armed forces, and restructuring of the two alliances' military structures to make them purely defensive in character. The measures to reduce unilaterally armed forces and armaments previously carried out by the Warsaw Pact countries (Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania, the USSR, and the CSSR) and particularly the new initiatives taken by the Soviet Union to reduce its armed forces unilaterally in the next 2 years, without any linkage to the talks, by 500,000 men and to substantially reduce the quantity of its arms and combat equipment—by 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems, and 800 combat aircraft, including the withdrawal of 6 tank divisions from the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary—serve as a graphic example of the readiness of the Warsaw Pact states to channel into practical actions their efforts to lower the level of military confrontation in Europe.

The Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee expresses the hope that NATO countries will demonstrate a similar readiness to make very rapid progress toward strengthening stability and security in Europe, including the taking of unilateral measures to reduce their armed forces and armaments.

Tables of the Correlation of Warsaw Pact and North Atlantic Alliance Force Strengths and Main Weapons Types in Europe and Adjoining Waters (as of 1 July 1988):

Appendix 1. I. Correlation of Force Strengths (thousand men)

	Warsaw Pact	Correlation	NATO
Control organs: General (main) staffs, main and central directorates of defense ministries	30.2	1:1.6	49.47
Ground forces, airborne forces, and army aviation	1,823.5	1:1.2	2,115.36
Air defense forces	550.5	4:0:1	137.7
Air forces	425.1	1:1.1	482.3
Navies	338.0	1:2.0	685.0
Units under central command (intelligence, communications, electronic warfare, VUZ's, and others)	225.4	2.3:1	96.9
Rear services units and institutions	146.3	1.7:1	87.5
Civil (territorial) defense troops	34.1	5.7:1	6.0

	Warsaw Pact	Correlation	NATO
Control organs: General (main) staffs, main and central directorates of defense ministries	30.2	1:1.6	49.47
Ground forces, airborne forces, and army aviation	1,823.5	1:1.2	2,115.36
Total of armed forces in Europe and adjoining waters	3,573.1	1:1	3,660.2

Note: Numbers of MVD (field gendarmerie) and border troops in Warsaw Pact and NATO Armed Forces not included.

Appendix 2. II. Correlation of Main Armament Types

	Warsaw Pact	Correlation	NATO
Combat aircraft of front-line (tactical) Air Force aviation and Air Defense Forces and naval aviation	7,876	1.1:1	7,130
Including: combat aircraft of front-line (tactical) Air Force aviation and Air Defense Force aviation	5,355	1:1	5,450
Air Defense Force combat interceptors incapable of operating against ground targets	1,829	36:1	50
Navy combat aircraft	692	1:2.4	1,630
Total strike aircraft (bombers, fighter-bombers, ground-attack aircraft) within front-line (tactical) Air Force aviation aircraft and naval aviation aircraft	2,783	1:1.5	4,075
Combat helicopters, including naval	2,785	1:1.9	5,270
Tactical missile launchers	1,608	11.8:1	136
Tanks	59,470	1.9:1	30,690
Antitank missile complexes	11,465	1:1.6	18,070
Infantry combat vehicles and armored transports	70,330	1.5:1	46,900
Rocket-propelled salvo-fire systems, field pieces (75 mm and above), and mortars (50 mm and above)	71,560	1.3:1	57,060

	Warsaw Pact	Correlation	NATO
Combat aircraft of front-line (tactical) Air Force aviation and Air Defense Forces and naval aviation	7,876	1:1:1	7,130
Including: combat aircraft of front-line (tactical) Air Force aviation and Air Defense Force aviation	5,355	1:1	5,450
Submarines (excluding submarines armed with strategic ballistic missiles)	228	1:1:1	200
including nuclear-powered	80	1:1	76
Large surface ships (aircraft carriers, battleships, cruisers, destroyers, frigates, amphibious warfare ships with a displacement of 1,200 tonnes and over)	102	1:5	499
including: aircraft-carrying ships [aviansushchiye], aircraft carriers	2	1:7.5	15
ships armed with cruise missiles	23	1:11.9	274
amphibious warfare ships (with a displacement of 1,200 tonnes and over)	24	1:3.5	84

Explanation of Tables I and II

In computing the correlation of the forces in Europe and adjoining waters, the two military-political alliances' ground forces, air forces, air defense forces, naval forces, and troops ensuring operational and rear support, and civil and territorial defense, have been fully included in the overall number of the personnel and the quantity of armaments.

The forces of all the fleets stationed in the European zone, including the Soviet Northern, Baltic, and Black Sea Fleets, have been fully included in the calculation of the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact states. On the basis of an analogous approach, the forces and systems [sily i sredstva] of the navies of all West European NATO countries have been included in the assessment of North Atlantic alliance naval forces. The number of personnel and the quantity of armaments of the U.S. Navy operating in the North Atlantic and Mediterranean are also included.

The number of personnel and quantity of armaments belonging to the United States and Canada located on their own territory, in regions of the Atlantic directly

adjoining them, and in the whole of the Pacific and Indian Oceans have not been included in the overall balance of armed forces. The strength of USSR Armed Forces stationed in the Asian part of the country has not been included in the overall balance. The personnel and the armaments of Soviet and U.S. strategic nuclear forces and missile formations and units being scrapped under the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles have not been included in the computations.

In view of the fact that British and French missile-carrying submarines, (S3) missiles on the Albion Plateau, and Mirage-IV bombers are not included in the overall balance, Soviet medium bombers of the Tu-22 type (except for naval aviation aircraft) are not included.

Workers and employees of the Armed Forces and military construction workers on both sides have not been included because they do not undergo military training in peacetime and do not carry arms.

The main types of armaments and military equipment found in the forces, at depots (in reserve), and in centers of combat use have been taken into account when comparing the armed forces. These comprise:

Combat aircraft of the following type:

In the Warsaw Pact, front-line bombers (Su-24), fighter-bombers (Su-22, Su-76, Su-17, MiG-17, and MiG-27), ground-attack aircraft (Su-25), fighters (MiG-29, MiG-23, MiG-21, and Su-27), Air Defense Forces fighter-interceptors (MiG-31, MiG-25, Su-27, Su-15, Tu-128, and Yak-28), reconnaissance and electronic warfare planes (MiG-25, MiG-21, Su-17, Su-24, and Yak-28), naval aviation (Tu-16, Tu-22, Tu-142, Il-38, Be-12, Yak-38, Su-17, MiG-21, MiG-23, MiG-29, and Su-27);

In NATO, fighter-bombers (Buccaneer, Tornado, F-111, Mirage 5, F-4, F-15, F-16, F-18, Jaguar, Mirage III, F-104, Mirage 2000, F-100, F-35 Draken [as published], F-5, F-84, and G-91), ground-attack aircraft (A-7, A-10, Harrier, and Alpha jet), fighters (F-16, Tornado, Mirage 2000, F-4, F-104, Mirage F-1, F-5), Air Defense Forces fighter-interceptors (Lightning), reconnaissance and electronic warfare aircraft (EF-111, RF-4, Tornado, Jaguar, Mirage F-IR, R-F5, Mirage IIIR, RF-16, Nimrod, Orion P-3, G.91R, RF-104, RF-84, EC-130, DC-8, Canberra, and Shackleton), naval aviation (A-4, A-6, A-7, F/A-18, Sea Harrier, AV-8, Etendard, Super Etendard, F-4, Tornado, F-104, F-14, Crusader, ASW aircraft, reconnaissance, and electronic warfare planes), and combat support aircraft;

Combat helicopters of the following type:

In the Warsaw Pact, gunship (Mi-24), assault transport (Mi-8), reconnaissance and fire adjustment [razvedka i korrekcirovka] (Mi-24 and Mi-8), electronic warfare (Mi-8), and Navy helicopters (Ka-25, Ka-27, Ka-29, and Mi-14);

In NATO, gunships (Apache, Huey Cobra, Cobra-TOW, Bo-105P, Lynx, Mangusta, and Gazelle), multirole (Iroquois, Black Hawk, Bo-105M, Alouette, Lynx, AB-204, AB-205, AB-206, and AB-212), reconnaissance (Kaiowa, Gazelle, and Alouette), assault transport and specialized (Puma, EH-1H, and EH-60), Navy helicopters (Sea King, Wessex, Lynx, Super Frelon, Alouette, AB-212, Sea Cobra, Sea Stallion, Sea Hawk, and Iroquois);

Tanks—all types of tanks with which the Warsaw Pact and NATO are equipped;

Antitank missile systems:

In the Warsaw Pact, ATGM combat vehicles of front-line, army, divisional, and regimental echelon and portable systems of the battalion echelon;

In NATO—systems similar in terms of designation and characteristics;

Infantry combat vehicles, armored personnel carriers, combat assault vehicles, combat reconnaissance patrol vehicles, and combat reconnaissance vehicles;

Salvo-fire missile systems, field artillery pieces of 75-mm caliber and above, and mortars of 50-mm caliber and above.

[Footnote: The data disclosing the strength of the personnel and the number of armaments relative to each of the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries in Europe are appended (Appendixes 3, 4, 5, 6).]

Appendix 3. Force Strengths of Warsaw Pact Countries in Europe (Thousand Men)

[PRAVDA publishes the following two tables as a single table covering half the width of the page. Columns are headed as follows: A—Warsaw Pact Total; B—Of Which, Bulgaria; C—Of Which, Hungary; D—Of Which, GDR; E—Of Which, Poland; F—Of Which, Romania; G—Of Which, USSR; H—Of Which, CSSR. A footnote to the table states: "The strength of the Ministries of Internal Affairs and border troops has not been included in the Warsaw Pact forces."]

	A	B	C	D
Control organs: general staffs, main and central directorates of defense ministries	30.2	1.1	1.2	2.5
Ground forces, airborne forces, and army aviation	1,823.5	70.4	54.7	103.3
Air defense forces	550.5	17.6	19.8	29.9
Air forces	425.1	4.5	1.6	4.7
Naval forces	338.0	6.3	-	14.2

	A	B	C	D
Control organs: general staffs, main and central directorates of defense ministries	30.2	1.1	1.2	2.5
Ground forces, airborne forces, and army aviation	1,823.5	70.4	54.7	103.3
Units under central command (intelligence, communications, electronic warfare, VUZ's, and others)	225.4	14.2	23.5	5.5
Rear services units and institutions	146.3	2.7	6.0	13.0
Civil (territorial) defense troops	34.1	0.7	-	-
Total of armed forces in Europe and adjoining waters	3,573.1	117.5	106.8	173.1

	E	F	G	H
Control organs: general staffs, main and central directorates of defense ministries	2.8	2.2	17.1	3.3
Ground forces, airborne forces, and Army aviation	169.8	110.0	1,187.2	128.1
Air defense forces	49.8	22.0	389.1	22.3
Air forces	40.9	5.4	345.0	23.0
Naval forces	22.2	6.4	288.9	-
Units under central command (intelligence, communications, electronic warfare, VUZ's, and others)	21.1	12.0	133.2	15.9
Rear services units and institutions	33.5	12.0	75.1	4.0
Civil (territorial) defense troops	6.9	1.0	22.4	3.1
Total of armed forces in Europe and adjoining waters	347.0	171.0	2,458.0	199.7

Appendix 4. Force Strengths of NATO Countries in Europe (Thousand Men)

[PRAVDA publishes the following four tables as a single table covering half the width of the page. Columns are headed as follows: A—NATO Total; B—Of Which, Britain; C—Of Which, FRG; D—Of Which, France; E—Of Which, Norway; F—Of Which, Denmark; G—Of Which, Belgium; H—Of Which, Netherlands; I—Of Which, Luxembourg; J—Of Which, Italy; K—Of Which, Greece; L—Of Which, Portugal; M—Of Which, Spain; N—Of Which, Turkey; O—Of Which, United States in Europe; P—Of Which, United States in Atlantic; Q—Of Which, Canada in Europe; R—Of Which, Canada in Atlantic; S—Of Which, Iceland. A footnote to the table states: "The strength of field gendarmerie and border troops has not been included in the NATO forces."]

	A	B	C	D	E
Control organs: general staffs, main and central directorates of defense ministries	49.47	1.0	1.8	5.0	0.08
Ground forces, airborne forces, and Army aviation	2,115.36	143.9	342.0	238.2	21.2
Air defense forces	137.7	13.0	31.3	15.0	2.0
Air forces	482.3	74.9	71.3	70.7	6.9
Naval forces	685.0	71.0	36.0	62.0	8.0
Units under central command (intelligence, communications, electronic warfare, VUZ's, and others)	96.9	2.7	6.5	38.5	1.7
Rear services units and institutions	87.5	4.7	5.0	13.1	1.2
Civil (territorial) defense troops	6.0	-	1.1	-	-
Total of armed forces in Europe and adjoining waters	3,660.2	311.2	495.0	442.5	41.08

	F	G	H	I	J
Control organs: general staffs, main and central directorates of defense ministries	0.06	1.0	1.0	0.03	17.0
Ground forces, airborne forces, and Army aviation	17.3	59.2	60.4	0.71	234.75
Air defense forces	1.5	5.1	4.0	-	21.2
Air forces	4.5	15.7	13.4	-	51.4
Naval forces	6.0	4.0	18.0	-	45.0
Units under central command (intelligence, communications, electronic warfare, VUZ's, and others)	0.1	4.2	2.75	0.3	19.65
Rear services units and institutions	1.5	2.8	1.5	-	6.0
Civil (territorial) defense troops	-	-	0.8	-	1.0
Total of armed forces in Europe and adjoining waters	30.96	92.0	101.85	1.04	396.0

	K	L	M	N
Control organs: general staffs, main and central directorates of defense ministries	0.3	1.9	2.3	18.0
Ground forces, airborne forces, and Army aviation	135.4	43.6	185.0	420.0
Air defense forces	11.4	-	12.0	12.0
Air forces	15.2	9.0	23.1	44.2
Naval forces	22.0	13.0	48.0	52.0
Units under central command (intelligence, communications, electronic warfare, VUZ's, and others)	4.3	1.0	8.8	5.1

	K	L	M	N
Control organs: general staffs, main and central directorates of defense ministries	0.3	1.9	2.3	18.0
Ground forces, airborne forces, and Army aviation	135.4	43.6	185.0	420.0
Rear services units and institutions	1.2	1.5	3.3	44.5
Civil (territorial) defense troops	0.2	-	0.5	2.4
Total of armed forces in Europe and adjoining waters	190.0	70.0	283.0	598.2

	O	P	Q	R	S
Control organs: general staffs, main and central directorates of defense ministries	-	-	-	-	-
Ground forces, airborne forces, and Army aviation	208.8	-	4.9	-	-
Air defense forces	9.2	-	-	-	-
Air forces	80.1	-	1.9	-	-
Naval forces	32.5	261.5	-	6.0	-
Units under central command (intelligence, communications, electronic warfare, VUZ's, and others)	-	-	1.3	-	-
Rear services units and institutions	0.9	-	0.3	-	-
Civil (territorial) defense troops	-	-	-	-	-
Total in armed forces in Europe and adjoining waters	331.5	261.5	8.4	6.0	-
	593.0*		14.4**		

*[Combined U.S.]

**[Combined Canadian]

Appendix 5. Quantity of Main Armament Types of Warsaw Pact Countries in Europe

[PRAVDA publishes the following two tables as a single table covering half the width of the page. Columns are headed as follows: A—Warsaw Pact Total; B—Of Which, Bulgaria; C—Of Which, Hungary; D—Of Which, GDR; E—Of Which, Poland; F—Of Which Romania; G—Of Which, USSR; H—Of Which, CSSR.]

	A	B	C	D
Combat aircraft of front-line (tactical) air force aviation and air defense force and naval aviation	7,876	234	113	307
including:				
combat aircraft of front-line (tactical) air force aviation and air defense force aviation	5,355	234	113	283

	A	B	C	D
Combat aircraft of front-line (tactical) air force aviation and air defense force and naval aviation	7,876	234	113	307
including:				
air defense force combat interceptors incapable of operating against ground targets	1,829	-	-	-
Navy combat aircraft	692	-	-	24
Total strike aircraft (bombers, fighter-bombers, ground-attack aircraft) within front-line (tactical) air force aviation aircraft and naval aviation aircraft	2,783	69	-	65
Combat helicopters, including naval	2,785	51	96	74
Tactical missile launchers	1,608	72	27	80
Tanks	59,470	2,200	1,435	3,140
Antitank missile complexes	11,465	360	270	620
Infantry combat vehicles and armored transports	70,330	2,365	2,310	5,900
Rocket-propelled salvo-fire systems, field pieces (75 mm and above), and mortars (50 mm and above)	71,560	3,990	1,750	2,435
Submarines (excluding submarines armed with strategic ballistic missiles)	228	4	-	-
including nuclear-powered	80	-	-	-
Large surface ships (aircraft carriers, battleships, cruisers, destroyers, frigates, amphibious warfare ships with a displacement of 1,200 tonnes and over)	102	-	-	-
including:				
aircraft-carrying ships [avianesushchiye], aircraft carriers	2	-	-	-
ships armed with cruise missiles	23	-	-	-
amphibious warfare ships (with a displacement of 1,200 tonnes and over)	24	-	-	-

	E	F	G	H
Combat aircraft of front-line (tactical) air force aviation and air defense force and naval aviation	480	380	5,955	407
including:				
combat aircraft of front-line (tactical) air force aviation and air defense force aviation	480	156	3,682	407
air defense force combat interceptors incapable of operating against ground targets	-	224	1,605	-

	E	F	G	H
Combat aircraft of front-line (tactical) air force aviation and air defense force and naval aviation	480	380	5,955	407
including:				
Navy combat aircraft	-	-	668	-
Total strike aircraft (bombers, fighter-bombers, ground-attack aircraft) within front-line (tactical) air force aviation aircraft and naval aviation aircraft	108	128	2,276	137
Combat helicopters, including naval	43	220	2,200	101
Tactical missile launchers	81	50	1,221	77
Tanks	3,330	3,200	41,580	4,585
Antitank missile complexes	435	400	8,840	540
Infantry combat vehicles and armored transports	4,855	5,000	45,000	4,900
Rocket-propelled salvo-fire systems, field pieces (75 mm and above), and mortars (50 mm and above)	3,065	6,600	50,275	3,445
Submarines (excluding submarines armed with strategic ballistic missiles)	3	1	220	-
including nuclear-powered	-	-	80	-
Large surface ships (aircraft carriers, battleships, cruisers, destroyers, frigates, amphibious warfare ships with a displacement of 1,200 tonnes and over)	-	1	101	-
including:				
aircraft-carrying ships [avianesushchiye], aircraft carriers	-	-	2	-
ships armed with cruise missiles	-	-	23	-
amphibious warfare ships (with a displacement of 1,200 tonnes and over)	-	-	24	-

Appendix 6. Quantity of NATO Countries' Main Armament Types in Europe

[PRAVDA publishes the following three tables as a single table covering half the width of the page. Columns are headed as follows: A—NATO Total; B—Of Which, Britain; C—Of Which, FRG; D—Of Which, France; E—Of Which, Norway; F—Of Which, Denmark; G—Of Which, Belgium; H—Of Which, Netherlands; I—Of Which, Luxembourg; J—Of Which, Italy; K—Of Which, Greece; L—Of Which, Portugal; M—Of Which, Spain; N—Of Which, Turkey; O—Of Which, United States in Europe; P—Of Which, Canada in Europe; Q—Of Which, Iceland]

	A	B	C	D	E
Combat aircraft of front-line (tactical) air force aviation and air defense force and naval aviation	7130	835	850	880	100
including:					
combat aircraft of front-line (tactical) air force aviation and air defense force aviation	5450	740	680	680	100
air defense force combat interceptors incapable of operating against ground targets	50	50	-	-	-
navy combat aircraft	1630	45	170	200	-
Total strike aircraft (bombers, fighter-bombers, ground-attack aircraft) within front-line (tactical) air force aviation aircraft and naval aviation aircraft	4075	410	615	460	50
Combat helicopters, including naval	5270	700	450	700	-
Tactical missile launchers	136	12	26	36	-
Tanks	30690	2000	4900	3190	370
Antitank missile complexes	18070	1480	2760	2000	150
Infantry combat vehicles and armored transports	46900	5480	6840	4520	190
Rocket-propelled salvo-fire systems, field pieces (75 mm and above), and mortars (50 mm and above)	57060	3320	3190	8510	2320
Submarines (excluding submarines armed with strategic ballistic missiles)	200	28	24	17	11
including nuclear-powered	76	16	-	4	-
Large surface ships (aircraft carriers, battleships, cruisers, destroyers, frigates, amphibious warfare ships with a displacement of 1,200 tonnes and over)	499	66	16	54	11
including:					
aircraft-carrying ships [avianesushchiye], aircraft carriers	15	3	-	2	-
ships armed with cruise missiles	274	31	13	40	5
amphibious warfare ships (with a displacement of 1,200 tonnes and over)	84	10	-	9	3

	F	G	H	I	J	K
Combat aircraft of front-line (tactical) air force aviation and air defense force and naval aviation	100	170	200	-	450	450
including:						
combat aircraft of front-line (tactical) air force aviation and air defense force aviation	100	170	180	-	430	450
air defense force combat interceptors incapable of operating against ground targets	-	-	-	-	-	-
navy combat aircraft	-	-	20	-	20	-
Total strike aircraft (bombers, fighter-bombers, ground-attack aircraft) within front-line (tactical) air force aviation aircraft and naval aviation aircraft	50	110	11	-	160	230
Combat helicopters, including naval	-	70	20	-	540	130
Tactical missile launchers	-	6	8	-	12	-
Tanks	350	530	1250	-	2330	2000
Antitank missile complexes	310	560	764	6	2130	320
Infantry combat vehicles and armored transports	1090	2020	3240	-	6440	1720
Rocket-propelled salvo-fire systems, field pieces (75 mm and above), and mortars (50 mm and above)	1750	1620	1410	10	5510	3950
Submarines (excluding submarines armed with strategic ballistic missiles)	7	-	5	-	10	10
including nuclear-powered	-	-	-	-	-	-
Large surface ships (aircraft carriers, battleships, cruisers, destroyers, frigates, amphibious warfare ships with a displacement of 1,200 tonnes and over)	10	4	17	-	27	29
including:						
aircraft-carrying ships [avianesushchiye], aircraft carriers	-	-	-	-	-	-
ships armed with cruise missiles	5	4	17	-	19	8

	F	G	H	I	J	K
Combat aircraft of front-line (tactical) air force aviation and air defense force and naval aviation including:	100	170	200	-	450	430
amphibious warfare ships (with a displacement of 1,200 tonnes and over)	-	-	-	-	3	9
Combat aircraft of front-line (tactical) air force aviation and air defense force and naval aviation including:	L	M	N	O	P	Q
combat aircraft of front-line (tactical) air force aviation and air defense force aviation	150	295	640	1960	50	-
air defense force combat interceptors incapable of operating against ground targets	-	-	-	-	-	-
navy combat aircraft	-	15	10	1150	-	-
Total strike aircraft (bombers, fighter-bombers, ground-attack aircraft) within front-line (tactical) air force aviation aircraft and naval aviation aircraft	130	140	410	1150	50	-
Combat helicopters, including naval	-	160	310	2180	10	-
Tactical missile launchers	-	-	-	36	-	-
Tanks	470	1850	4320	6280	150	-
Antitank missile complexes	40	190	2350	4940	70	-
Infantry combat vehicles and armored transports	280	1720	5270	7590	500	-
Rocket-propelled salvo-fire systems, field pieces (75 mm and above), and mortars (50 mm and above)	1870	5010	4900	3520	170	-
Submarines (excluding submarines armed with strategic ballistic missiles)	3	8	17	57	3	-
including nuclear-powered	-	-	-	56	-	-

	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Combat aircraft of front-line (tactical) air force aviation and air defense force and naval aviation including:	150	295	640	1960	50	-
Large surface ships (aircraft carriers, battleships, cruisers, destroyers, frigates, amphibious warfare ships with a displacement of 1,200 tonnes and over) including:	17	29	31	173	15	-
aircraft-carrying ships [avianesushchiye], aircraft carriers	-	1	-	9	-	-
ships armed with cruise missiles	-	13	10	109	-	-
amphibious warfare ships (with a displacement of 1,200 tonnes and over)	-	6	7	37	-	-

NATO Response to Unilateral Cuts Questioned
LD2701220989 Moscow TASS in English 1950 GMT
27 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 27 TASS—By Vladimir Bogachev, TASS analyst on military affairs.

The leadership of the North Atlantic bloc rejects demands of the European public on cutting NATO armed forces in response to the decisions of the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty countries on a considerable reduction in the numerical strength and numbers of their troops, tanks, planes and artillery.

Speaking in Brussels, NATO spokesman Robin Stafford declared these demands "unrealistic" and expressed the opinion that the armed forces of the two opposing military alliances in Europe should be "balanced" only by unilateral disarmament of the Warsaw Treaty countries. At the same time NATO strategists flatly refuse even to discuss the question of cutting those weapons in which they eclipse the Warsaw Treaty countries, for instance, tactical aviation, helicopters and aircraft carriers. West German defence minister Rupert Scholz spoke of "inevitability" of modernising tactical nuclear weapons of the North Atlantic alliance, above all Lance missiles.

The press reports that NATO plans to return to Western Europe nuclear warheads from land-based Pershings and cruise missiles to be destroyed under the INF treaty and to put them on new delivery vehicles—sea- and air-based cruises. New fighter-bombers F-15e are planned to be dispatched to Western Europe. As a result of these

measures, the total number of U.S. nuclear warheads can grow, say, in Britain from the present 775 to 1,193 in 1995. Thus, the results of the INF Treaty will be brought actually to naught.

It goes without saying that such NATO plans do not promote normalization of the military and political situation in Europe.

Washington hawks, writes the British magazine *NEW STATESMAN*, believe that arms control is acceptable only under the condition that it will increase U.S. security and is a component part of the rivalry strategy aimed at gaining superiority over the Soviet Union.

However, the fact is that the high level of military confrontation which developed in the post-war years, does not conform any more to the present state of East-West relations. Declaring a considerable unilateral reduction in its armed forces, the Soviet Union does not precondition this act of goodwill in any way. Western analysts justifiably point out that, implementing measures to lower the level of military confrontation, the Soviet Union strengthens its prestige in the international arena and makes an impressive contribution to ensuring military and political stability. Reciprocal measures of the North Atlantic alliance in the spirit of new political thinking would undoubtedly strengthen confidence between countries, help achieve progress at all talks on arms control and would eventually strengthen security of all countries.

General Lizichev Discusses Arms, Troop Cuts
LD2601224189 Prague CTK in English
2040 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 26 (CTK)—“We maintain a clear stand ensuing from the new political thinking and the principle of reasonable defence sufficiency. Our arms and troop cuts are an example for everyone, above all for NATO, and have been already followed by other Warsaw Treaty states—Hungary, the GDR. A certain proposal has been worked out also in Czechoslovakia”, visiting Soviet Army General Aleksey Lizichev told CTK here Thursday [26 January].

The head of the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy pointed out that Mikhail Gorbachev's address at the U.N. General Assembly session aimed at ensuring security and peace was welcomed by the Soviet Army representatives. Mikhail Gorbachev announced the troop cuts by 500,000 men. The number of tanks will be reduced by 10,000, artillery systems by 8,500 and aircraft by 800.

“Unfortunately, our Western partners have not responded yet to our initiatives by concrete actions. The Soviet troop cuts are a process to last two years (1989-1990). These two years seem to be enough for the West to make up its mind and make a decision”, Aleksey Lizichev said.

He added that the Soviet Union has demonstrated its realistic attitude towards the troop and arms cuts, both in the sphere of strategic offensive and conventional weapons.

However, these steps and efforts at balance of interests and forces have not met with adequate reaction in the West, he said and gave figures demonstrating U.S. superiority in many spheres, e.g. the Soviet Union has two aircraft carriers with 38 planes deployed on each, while the United States has 15 aircraft carriers with 98 planes on each, the Americans have 1,400 more airplanes in Europe than the Soviets, they have more helicopters.

As to the principle of reasonable sufficiency, Aleksey Lizichev said this is a principle of building the armed forces in harmony with the defensive doctrine. At present, the Soviet Armed Forces are being re-built on this principle in order to make the Army and the Navy minimum but in accord with the military and political situation in the world. They should ensure reliable defence of the Soviet Union and other friendly countries.

“Our strategic nuclear forces, i.e. ground strategic missile forces, submarines with ballistic nuclear missiles and strategic bombers, are to be built on the principle of balance with the U.S. strategic forces. This is the principle we shall observe till the question of total liquidation of strategic nuclear forces is definitively solved”, Aleksey Lizichev said.

Czechoslovakia's Vaclavik Cited on Arms Cuts
LD2801124989 Moscow TASS in English 1234 GMT
28 Jan 89

[Text] Prague January 28 TASS—The goal of Czechoslovakia's unilateral reductions in the armed forces and armaments is to strengthen confidence and security in Europe, Defence Minister General Milan Vaclavik said.

Taking this decision, Czechoslovakia is joining the Soviet Union's initiative set forth by Mikhail Gorbachev in his address to the United Nations, he said.

“Starting the reductions, we're aware that the defence capability of Czechoslovakia and its allies must be fully ensured. We cannot fail to take into account the military-political situation in Europe.

“Our possibilities for reducing the armed forces are limited. Czechoslovakia is on the line of contact with NATO countries and should watch whether or not they respond to our unilateral measures,” Vaclavik said.

Bulgaria Announces Military Forces, Budget Cuts
LD2701220089 Moscow TASS in English 2142 GMT
27 Jan 89

[Text] Sofia January 28 TASS—The Bulgarian State Council and the Council of Ministers held a joint meeting on January 27. The meeting discussed a proposal by Bulgarian leader Todor Zhivkov to slash the country's military budget in 1989 and to reduce armed forces.

The BTA news agency reports that a decision was taken to cut by 12 per cent Bulgaria's military budget in 1989.

It was decided to reduce by the end of 1990 the Bulgarian Armed Forces by 10,000, by 200 tanks, 200 artillery systems, 20 planes and five naval units.

Hungary's Karpati Comments on Soviet Withdrawal
PM2701142389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
27 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent F. Lukyanov dispatch: "Schedule for Partial Withdrawal of Soviet Troops Published. Statement by Hungarian Defense Minister"]

[Text] Budapest—Colonel General F. Karpati, Hungarian defense minister, has announced the general schedule for the partial withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungarian territory, as stipulated by the Soviet peace initiatives proposed by M.S. Gorbachev in his speech in New York.

According to MTI, the minister has said that the first stage of the withdrawal will be completed in the first half of 1989. In this time, the Soviet tank division currently stationed in the region of Veszprem and a tank training regiment will leave Hungarian territory.

The withdrawal of Soviet military units will continue in the second half of 1989.

Answering a question from MTI as to what will become of the barracks, airfields, and various other premises becoming vacant after the withdrawal, the minister said that they will be handed over to the local Hungarian authorities. There is also to be a regrouping of Soviet troops within the country, according to the minister. The reductions and redeployment will mainly affect Soviet units in the western regions of Hungary.

Reciprocal Tactical Nuclear Weapons Cuts Sought
LD2701164889 Moscow TASS in English 1510 GMT
27 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 27 TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent:

The Soviet Union comes out in favour of fully eliminating all nuclear weapons, including tactical ones, during the life span of the present generation.

This is why the Soviet side at the Vienna follow-up meeting to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe invariably pressed for including tactical nuclear weapons, among them short-range missiles (with a range of up to 500 km) in a mandate for talks on reducing the armed forces and conventional arms in Europe.

Taking into account the close interdependence between the armed forces and conventional arms, on the one hand, and tactical nuclear systems on the other, Soviet military and diplomatic circles believe that a significant reduction in general-purpose forces objectively would create conditions for a cut in nuclear arms. This interrelationship was taken into consideration in the Soviet unilateral initiatives proposed by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev from the rostrum of the United Nations General Assembly: Weapons which are subject to withdrawal from central Europe will also include tactical nuclear systems.

The Soviet Union does not modernise tactical nuclear systems in the belief that such modernisation would be a step backwards, not forwards.

"To eliminate tactical nuclear weapons in central Europe is a pressing problem," maintains Colonel General Nikolay Chervov, departmental chief of the USSR Armed Forces' General Staff.

"While doing this, we, of course, count on the reciprocity of NATO countries".

This is only natural: The unilateral nature of the Soviet Union's actions presupposes reciprocal steps or, at least, restraint.

In the West, one can hear assertions that the Soviet Union ostensibly has an advantage in tactical nuclear weapons. "Those assertions are based on artificially singling out of only one category—tactical nuclear missiles—from among tactical nuclear systems," Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Information directorate, said at a briefing on Thursday.

"Really, the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation (WTO) have a larger number of such missiles than NATO countries. If the other categories of tactical nuclear systems are taken into consideration—aviation and artillery ones—then an approximate parity between WTO and NATO forces is manifest".

Only the road of reciprocal concessions and respect for each other's stands may lead to specific achievements in the field of nuclear disarmament.

Present, Future East-West Relations Examined
OW2801074289 Moscow Television Service in Russian
0455 GMT 28 Jan 89

["Studio 9" program presented by Prof Valentin Sergeyevich Zorin, political observer for Soviet television and radio; with former Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone; former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger; Valentin Mikhaylovich Falin, chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; and Yevgeniy Maksimovich Primakov, director of the World Economics and International Relations Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Kissinger speaks in English and Nakasone in Japanese, fading into Russian translation]

[Text] [Zorin] Hello, comrades. Today, the discussion group present at our "Studio 9" table at Ostankino Television Center is somewhat unusual. Members of the rather influential, in the Western world, Trilateral Commission, are visiting Moscow and we decided not to miss an opportunity such as this.

First of all, I would like to introduce to you the participants in today's talk: Mr Yasuhiro Nakasone, prime minister of Japan from 1982 to 1987, and Dr Henry Kissinger who was the national security adviser and U.S. secretary of state in the Nixon and Ford administrations from 1969 to 1977. Also participating in our talk is Valentin Mikhaylovich Falin, doctor of historical sciences, chief of a CPSU Central Committee department and a prominent Soviet scholar; and one of the leading Soviet scholars in the field of social sciences, Yevgeniy Maksimovich Primakov, director of the World Economics and International Relations Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Before we begin our discussion today I would like to give you a short outline of the Trilateral Commission. Certain people in the West fond of sensationalism have, on occasion, called this body the invisible government of the Western countries. Certainly this is somewhat more than an exaggeration, but also certainly, this organization is very influential. It was created more than 15 years ago, in 1973, at the initiative of David Rockefeller, the American banker, with prominent U.S., West European, and Japanese government, academic, and public figures taking part in this organization. This commission, as a rule, convenes behind closed doors; meets once a year in various countries; publishes reports; conducts research; and exerts considerable influence on the thinking and policies of the leading capitalist countries. Traditionally, people who occupy official government positions are not members of the commission. Many prominent figures have made it known that they are members of the commission. In particular, it has become known that Jimmy Carter has been a member, although by and large members of his government have not been members of this commission. Presently, the commission has some 300 members. In April last year this commission met in Tokyo, and its most recent meeting was held in Moscow.

During the course of the Moscow talks the question of West-East relations was discussed. As you know, members of the Trilateral Commission held a substantial and detailed talk with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, during which a large number of pressing and important problems were discussed.

Well, after this preamble I think that we can now begin our discussion. I assume that the participants in our discussion today would assess the many problems that exist in the world today in different ways. But I feel that in dealing with one question, in all likelihood, there ought to be no serious disagreements. A different world, quite unlike the one that existed previously, is emerging before us today. Many old perceptions and political stereotypes no longer apply and now new paths into the future should be explored. In connection with this, I would like to ask every participant in our talk today to briefly respond to the following question: Slightly more than a decade remains before the end of this century. What, in your opinion, will be the dominating factor in this period? I have in mind the problems pertaining to economic and political areas. I will ask Dr Kissinger to be the first to respond to this question.

[Kissinger] The predominant feature in both economics and politics will be the growing interdependence of the world. It is becoming increasingly clearer in politics that the traditional ways and means that states solved their problems—for example, by means of war—is no longer possible.

Should this path be chosen once again it would be catastrophic for all—for those who win and those who lose. It follows that all conflicts must be resolved by means of diplomacy, by means of recognizing vital mutual interests, including security interests, which is the goal of all states.

In the sphere of economics the world is also becoming interdependent. Not a single country can, in isolation, successfully solve its problems. This has long been recognized in the non-socialist world. I was amazed to hear, during talks with your Soviet leaders, that they too now agree that the economies of socialist and non-socialist countries have to be linked in some sort of system, a mutually beneficial system. I feel that it is precisely this which will become the predominant feature of the nineties.

[Zorin] Mr Nakasone, please.

[Nakasone] If we should speak of an international economy, then as Dr Kissinger noted, the level of interdependence is forever increasing. Economy without state borders is a phrase that we are using increasingly. This means that the world economy will develop progressively along the path of interdependence. I feel that, in connection with this, a problem arises: When will the ruble become convertible? The convertibility of the ruble will exert a strong influence on the world economy. I

think that this will be achieved under conditions of harmony and compromise between the West and the East. I feel this problem will be of primary importance in the political sphere as well, and not be limited to the economy.

The second question is: How will mutual relations between the EEC and CEMA develop? In all likelihood the Common Market will become more cohesive and increase the level of its integration. For its part, the Soviet Union will have to adequately react to these developments and changes. It is possible the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries will embark on the path of further development of mutual dependence between the two economic communities.

[Zorin] Valentin Mikhaylovich, your turn.

[Falin] I think that in the upcoming years all will become more definitely and profoundly aware of the fact that all of us are part of a larger whole. Moreover, the solution to practically all international problems outside this whole is impossible. The solution of many national problems outside this whole is difficult as well. This is applicable to the political and economic areas. Within this context it appears that it will become increasingly clearer to both politicians and others that we cannot live with the old baggage of accumulated knowledge and wisdom. Broad approaches and a fresh and courageous search for new solutions to problems, which for various reasons were thought today and yesterday to be almost insurmountable, must be implemented. From now on and forevermore we are doomed to either live well together in peace or to end civilization through continued conflict.

[Zorin] Yevgeniy Maksimovich, please.

[Primakov] I think that the new political thinking which the Soviet Union is attempting to implement into the system of international relations gives rise to optimism. I think that the foundation of this optimism—the material foundation if you wish—in the upcoming years, will be the successes of our restructuring. I feel that by the middle of the next 5-year plan these successes will become very evident in the economy. Then the conditions also will be ripe for the convertibility of the ruble, increased opening up of the Soviet economy, and greater involvement in the international division of labor.

I would like to say that this optimism would be seriously enhanced if the West would embark on restructuring its relations with us. I would like to think that this will take place.

[Zorin] I would like to note that if a question like this had been asked by me at this table, say, 5 years ago, I rather think the degree of disagreement among us would have been significantly greater. Since nuances of opinions have been voiced, I would like to ask you, Valentin Mikhaylovich, to point out the areas of convergence and instances where differences still exist.

[Falin] Well, naturally, there are certain nuances. These nuances cannot be absent, because each of us carries within him his past, which we have already discussed. Each of us grew out of this past and carries it into the present and even into the future. This is why our Western capitalist colleagues stressed the changes which can be expected, or which are sought, in the Soviet Union. I think this topic found an adequate response in the words of Yevgeniy Maksimovich. I shall continue Academician Primakov's argument: Restructuring cannot develop unilaterally in a multilateral and interconnected world. If it is to be based on one side acting while the other merely observes, then the world will not become the new world that we await.

But there are general things which I see in the following way. One should search for new, fresh ideas and boldly undertake their implementation. This idea, on its own, is not so new, because Paine, the American philosopher and author, said as early as the 18th century: If all previous experience does not suggest a solution to a situation, people should behave in a way as if they were the first thinking creatures on Earth.

[Zorin] Dr Kissinger, I believe that you wish to elaborate on this. Am I not mistaken?

[Kissinger] There, obviously, is a connection between domestic restructuring and the international situation. We have lived through almost 40 years of competition and even conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union, between the other countries and the Soviet Union, and between other countries and the United States. I was present at the historic speech made by General Secretary Gorbachev at the United Nations. I was sitting in the hall next to Mr Falin. Gorbachev proposed numerous important theoretical opinions on events that ought to be happening and how they ought to develop. The challenge for us lies in the question of how to implement these theoretical ideas into practice in certain areas.

The general secretary made some specific proposals regarding the true reduction of conventional arms. But he also made other conclusions, those about non-use of force among nations and that no nation has the right to dominate another nation. We now have to do together certain specific work in the areas where we can implement these ideas. For example, when the ruble becomes a convertible currency, we truly shall have an international economy and be able to organize a political structure which would further unite the entire world.

We should approach the solution of such tasks with goodwill on all sides and implement these principles in life.

[Zorin] I am very glad that Dr Kissinger touched upon the United Nations speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, because this speech, in my opinion, contains a new philosophical concept of the development of human

society during the upcoming period. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev emphasized that we presently have entered an epoch when the interests of all mankind are to be the foundation of progress, and the formula of development at the expense of someone else is becoming outdated. Mr Nakasone, do you, to some extent, share this philosophy?

[Nakasone] I agree. I have already mentioned relations between the EEC and CEMA and convertibility of the ruble. I would like to comment on this.

With the appearance of Mr Gorbachev in the political arena, the world situation improved considerably. His restructuring and diplomacy impress me in many respects. I agree with him in the sphere of international economics, as well. I would like to see his concepts and policies achieve further success.

Recently agreements on conventional arms reduction, solutions of the human rights problem, and so forth, were reached in Vienna. The achievement of these agreements brings me great joy. I think that overall, development is taking place in a positive and favorable direction. In these situations the high ideals promoted by Mr Gorbachev cannot help but impress us. We also want to develop civilization in the interests of all mankind. However, to achieve these great goals, several bridges should, of course, be crossed.

There is the question of interrelations in Europe—relations between CEMA and the EEC, and the human rights problem. Of interest to Japan are the problems of the Korean peninsula, the Vietnam problem, and a whole range of problems related to the development of economic cooperation between Japan and the USSR.

In this respect and in the general context, it would be good to create in Asia a situation similar to that established in Europe. We are indeed able to create this situation, in particular to wish a kind of economic commonwealth.

Thus, in general the world situation and its development are changing in a positive direction. In this respect, Japan would very much like to do its part and cooperate with other countries.

[Zorin] Mr Kissinger, you are both a scientist and a political figure. We know about your book and are familiar with your activity as the head of American diplomacy. I would like to ask you—both as a scientist and a political figure—the same question: Do you share the concept that we have entered the epoch when the interests of all mankind should be the basis for progress and that the formula of development at the expenses of others is becoming outdated?

[Kissinger] Upon the completion of Gorbachev's UN speech, a member of the Soviet delegation asked me what I considered the most important aspect of the

speech. At that moment, everyone's attention was drawn to specific proposals on arms reduction. Of course, these are important. My answer, however, was that I thought the philosophical section of the speech to be the most important, because it proposed an approach that obviously differed from the usual ones, different from all that was heard in the past.

You referred to my historical research. History attests to the fact that nations at all times compete and try to achieve their own success at another nation's expense. We are now discussing precisely an attempt to reject competition of this kind and approach international relations from the point of view of mutual benefit. This demands a change in approaches both by the Soviet and the American sides, as well as by the Japanese side. All these countries must change their approach. However, this should be done with consideration of specific situations—mere declarations will not do. The new approach lies precisely in this. Indeed, we should apply it to specific situations. I hope this is precisely what will happen when the new administration takes its place in Washington. On the one hand, it will happen in the U.S. Administration and, on the other hand,—in the Soviet Government.

[Falin] I think Mr Kissinger gave a very accurate description of the impressions of, and the first spontaneous reaction to, Mikhail Sergeyevich's United Nations speech, because he himself witnessed it. Mr Kissinger characterized the philosophical section of the speech as the most important and that with the most lasting effects.

Indeed, the speech outlined a long-term program because the changes described therein, the construction of a new, peaceful world order, cannot be accomplished immediately by waving a magic wand. This would not be possible, and it will not and cannot happen.

However, for us to cover the distance that separates us from a more humane, stable, and sensible world, efforts and mutually agreed upon or parallel actions are needed. A common task and a common goal are needed. If today we can understand the words of Mr Kissinger and Mr Nakasone to mean that this aim is appearing, that our movement sees the path along which we will not get lost once again, then this in itself is cause for hope.

The thing is that contrary to the past—it is not the first time after all that we face a situation in which a choice must be made, a very responsible choice—contrary to the past, today we do not have the right to make a mistake. If 40 years ago we could conduct experiments, test different paths along which more often than not competition prevailed rather than cooperation, which took second, third, or even 10th place, today this method is forbidden because confrontation, which as a rule, always stems from competition, can put us on the edge of an abyss or push us into an abyss.

Evans, on behalf of the Australian Government, extended condolence over the death of Bainqen Erdini Qoigy Gyaicain, vice-chairman of the Chinese National People's Congress Standing Committee, who had once visited Australia at the head of a delegation.

Defense Minister Qin Completes Visit to Thailand

Departs Bangkok 28 Jan
OW2801075489 Beijing XINHUA in English
0725 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] Bangkok, January 28 (XINHUA)—General Qin Jiwei, Chinese state councillor and defense minister, left here for home this morning, after a week-long official visit to Thailand.

Qin Jiwei was seen off at the airport by Acting Supreme Commander of Thai Armed Forces and Army Commander-in-Chief Chawalit Yongchaiyut and other senior officers.

Qin led a Chinese goodwill military delegation arriving here on January 20 at the invitation of Thai Prime Minister and Defense Minister Chatchai Chunhawan. He was granted an audience by King Phumiphon Adunyadet of Thailand, and by a decree of the king, conferred the decoration "Knight Grand Cross First Class of the White Elephant" by Thai Prime Minister during his stay.

In Qin's talks with Chatchai and Chawalit, the two sides expressed the hope that the good relations between the two countries and two armies would continue to develop.

Qin Jiwei also expressed the hope that "the Vietnamese authorities would follow the current historical trend, truthfully implement the U.N. resolutions and pull all its troops out of Kampuchea as early as possible."

Arrives in Beijing
OW2801133489 Beijing XINHUA in English
1319 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] Beijing, January 28 (XINHUA)—State Councillor and Minister of National Defense General Qin Jiwei returned to Beijing tonight after a week-long visit to Thailand at the head of a Chinese goodwill military delegation.

Ye Fei Continues NPC Visit to Philippines

Attends Filipino-Chinese Dinner
OW2801212289 Beijing XINHUA in English
1558 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Manila, January 26 (XINHUA)—More than 300 Overseas Chinese and Filipinos of Chinese descent gathered here tonight at a dinner to welcome Vice-Chairman

Ye Fei of the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress (NPC) and the NPC goodwill delegation he is leading.

Ye Fei made an impromptu speech amid warm applause at the dinner party.

He praised members of the Filipino-Chinese community here for their contributions to the enhancement of the Sino-Philippine friendship and to the construction and prosperity of the Philippines.

He said the Chinese people were happy that President Corazon Aquino made a state visit to China and called at her ancestors' land in Fujian Province last April. The bilateral relations have been growing since her visit.

"I have Filipino blood. The Philippines is my second home. I'll visit my birthplace of Diaong in Quezon Province tomorrow to see my relatives and pay respects to the tombs of my parents," he said.

All this, he stressed, showed that the relations between the Chinese and Philippine people "are very cordial and friendly. They are blood relations formed between brothers and relatives."

He called on all members of the Filipino-Chinese community to make fresh contributions to the close friendship between China and the Philippines.

Lucio Tan, vice-chairman of the reception committee of the Filipino-Chinese community for NPC Vice-Chairman Ye Fei and his party, delivered a welcome speech. Tan said the Overseas Chinese and Filipinos of Chinese descent would unite and work still harder to strengthen the kinsman-like relations between the two countries and help the economic recovery of the Philippines.

Hosts and guests chatted cordially during the dinner.

Ye Fei walked around the dinner hall and clinked glasses with Chinese compatriots and friends present to extend regards and greetings to them.

Filipino-Chinese musicians played Chinese music pieces "Ode to the Motherland" and "A Trip to the Homeland", as well as Philippine song "[Word indistinct] Manila Bay."

Philippine congressmen and Ye Fei's relatives in the Philippines attended the dinner.

Visits Birthplace

OW2701234089 Beijing XINHUA in English
1509 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Manila, January 27 (XINHUA)—Vice-Chairman Ye Fei of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of China today visited his birthplace of Diaong Township, some 100 kilometers southeast of Manila.

He had a happy family re-union with his Filipino brothers and sisters and paid homage to his late parents at their tomb in Diaong Town cemetery.

Ye Fei, now leading a NPC delegation in an official good-will visit was born in May 1914 in Diaong, an idyllic town. He lived there with his Filipino mother Francisco Mercado until 1919 when he was five, and then he left with his Chinese father Ye Sunwei and elder brother Ye Qicun for China—the land of his ancestors, where he studied and joined in the Chinese revolution.

Ye Fei told XINHUA that he has two native homelands—the Philippines and China. "To revisit my birthplace and pay respects to my parents' tomb has been my long-cherished wish," he said.

Ye Fei had a happy family reunion with his three younger brothers two younger sisters in the Philippines, who had gathered in the one-story two-room residence of Isaías Tiongco, the fourth brother, to greet their elder brother.

Ye Fei's parents had six sons and two daughters. Three sons including Ye Fei were brought to China for study.

The eldest brother, Ye Qicun, was killed by the Kuomintang in the 1930s after he became a leader of the revolutionary student movement. The fifth brother, Ye Qidun, still works in Fujian Province, east China as a retired local government official.

Among the three brothers and two sisters in the Philippines, 69-year-old Isaías is the only brother who still lives with his wife in Diaong as a retired businessman.

Antonio Tiongco, 72, semi-paralyzed because of apoplexy, came from Metro Manila to Diaong with the help of his son. He is a retired businessman and veteran. During the Second World War, he served as a battalion commander and led guerrillas in fighting the Japanese aggressors in the mountains for three years. In the 1950s, he was elected one of the eight councillors of Diaong for eight years.

Guillermo Tiongco, the eldest sister, now 67, also came from Metro Manila. She is now still single. She sacrificed her youth to accept the responsibilities of the family after her father died and her mother became ill. She took over running the groceries [as received] and earned money so that her brothers and sisters could continue their studies.

Ye Fei's youngest sister, Cristina Tiongco Pacificador, and younger brother, attorney Anastacio Tiongco, made special trips from Metro Manila and the United States retrospectively to Diaong for the family reunion. Cristina, 60, is a doctor at the clinic of the Education Department, while Anastacio, 58, a lawyer working at the Philippine Consulate in Los Angeles.

Walking side by side, Ye Fei and his brothers and sisters came to cemetery of the township, where their late parents were buried together. Two tombstones bearing the name of his father in Chinese and that of his mother in Tagalog were placed in front of the tomb.

Many relatives and friends of the Ye family in Diaong, including play-mates of Ye Fei during his childhood, came to meet Ye Fei and his brothers. They chatted cheerfully about their friendship.

Ye Fei lingered on his birthplace for two hours before he reluctantly left for Manila and asked his brothers and sisters to "unite and take good care of one another." He also invited the third brother, Antonio, to come to Beijing to receive Chinese acupuncture treatment for his disease of apoplexy.

Delegation Visits Military Academy

OW2901165289 Beijing XINHUA in English
1445 GMT 29 Jan 89

[Text] Manila, January 29 (XINHUA)—Members of the goodwill delegation of the National People's Congress (NPC) of China led by Ye Fei, vice-chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, today visited the well-known Philippine Military Academy (PMA) in Baguio, some 210 kilometers north of Manila.

The PMA, founded in 1905, is the premier military school of the Philippines. More than 80 percent of the generals and other ranking officers of the Philippine Armed Forces are its graduates.

Ye Fei and his party received a warm welcome from teaching officer and cadets of the academy when they arrived.

Accompanied by Brigadier General Andrew Francisco, superintendent of the academy, Ye Fei reviewed a guard of honor.

Ye, who had been a general of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and commander of the Chinese Navy, and his party, were briefed on the history of the academy as well as its organization, cadet corps, and system for training.

The brigadier general presented Ye Fei with a miniature command sword bearing his name and his visit. A sword is the symbol of the academy.

merely a few categories of armaments—five, six, or seven. We are not talking presently about all categories. These categories are comparable. They are not identical, but they can be compared. But when we speak of the problem of conventional arms, then the problem, from the intellectual point of view, becomes very much more complicated. For example, you could, roughly speaking, say that if the numbers are approximately equal on both sides, then the possibility of one side attacking the other is limited, if not totally absent. With conventional weapons quite often—and history tells of this—the weaker side has often defeated the stronger side. Therefore, equality of numbers in no way guarantees stability. In reaching agreement we should consider where these forces are deployed, the degree of their mobility, to where they can be transferred, and the existing reserves. I have no precise answers to all of these questions. I would be surprised if the Soviet side has precise answers to all these questions. If you were to consider Napoleon's victories before he marched on to Moscow, his forces were always smaller than those of his opponent. So were the German forces during their period of victory. Thus, numbers alone determine nothing.

A naval war is even more complicated. We know all too well what can happen in sea battles when one side achieves complete victory. Generally speaking, the equivalent of trench warfare does not occur at sea. Long ago a proposal was made to establish a relationship between French, British, and Japanese naval forces. But now experts are saying that the establishment of such an alignment of forces brought with it more harm than good. I am not saying that there is no need to discuss the possibility of reducing naval forces. We should most certainly be discussing this. But there is a hierarchy of intellectual preparation to the solution of these questions. In this context, nuclear disarmament made greater progress. We are only beginning to discuss conventional disarmament. As far as naval forces are concerned, I feel that at this stage we are lacking a serious approach to this problem. Perhaps we should first jointly research, at an academic level, the question of naval forces before making proposals at the diplomatic level. Candidly, I don't know what I would propose at this stage if somebody asked me.

[Primakov] Alright, I agree with you that the problem is very complex. But if we were to directly concentrate our attention on, let us say, confidence measures regarding naval forces, then this too would become a very important breakthrough if agreement can be reached. The Soviet side has made appropriate proposals, but unfortunately, the United States has not, as yet, given a positive reaction to these proposals.

[Zorin] What have you in mind?

[Primakov] What I have in mind is first to withdraw naval forces from certain areas. What I have in mind is to inform each other of any movements, to implement certain contacts at the fleet command levels, and so

forth. As you can understand, all this is very important. If progress could somehow be achieved in this direction, then I feel that, as you have correctly noted, perhaps it would lead to the lessening of suspicion on both sides of a naval buildup with the aim of beginning action.

[Falín] Dr Kissinger raised two questions here. The question of conventional arms as such, and the question of naval forces. I think that the proposal to conduct a serious joint scientific research and analysis deserves every consideration and support. In order to decide anything, first we must know; in order to draw the necessary conclusions, material must first be collected. In regard to conventional arms, the elemental aspect of stockpiling over decades is making itself known. Particularly because the expenditure on conventional arms is 5 to 7 times greater than on nuclear forces. These armaments are particularly expensive and at times significantly more difficult to control. But if the question has been raised and it becomes more difficult as it develops, then I feel that the only correct conclusion to this situation could be the decision to, as quickly as possible, begin the essential examination of the problem. Water will not run under an embedded rock. The longer we relegate this problem to the future, the more difficult it will be to find a solution to it. Within this context, I warmly welcome the decision on the mandate adopted recently in Vienna, in the Conference of 23. I also feel that the following should be said about conventional armament: Conventional armaments, in their development, are approaching the level when they will become comparable to nuclear arms in their destructive ability. If technology in this field continues to be perfected, then the two problems will fuse eventually. Will must forestall this development, especially if one bears in mind that if research is inordinately expensive, then multiplication of the results of research can be achieved not only by the medium-developed countries but even by underdeveloped countries. It becomes merely a matter of procedure.

[Kissinger] I agree with Dr Falín on the technical issue of increasing the killing capability of conventional weapons and improving their accuracy. In some spheres these weapons are beginning to merge. This is a very important question.

[Falín] Another point, if I may, in the context of what you have said, about nuclear weapons: Yes, maybe in fact we have gone further here. However, an understanding of the danger here is not identical to the danger itself. Now we have spoken about the number of warheads and compared this number with 1965 and 1963. We forget that today one nuclear warhead, compared to those days, is three to five times more effective. Therefore, to understand the threat represented by today's figures, we must multiply them three to five times to compare them with the situation on the basis of which, after analyzing it, you, Dr Kissinger, and President Nixon proposed ideas on preventing nuclear war at the end of the 1960's and early 1970's.

[Kissinger] This is true. I was in Moscow and attended the signing of the first SALT agreement. Since then we have signed several more treaties. Yet, after a 50-percent reduction there will be more warheads remaining on both sides than there were after the first SALT agreement.

[Zorin] Mr. Nakasone.

[Nakasone] Maybe that is enough about nuclear weapons? Maybe we should talk about the lives of people. You know I have heard much in the Soviet Union about joint enterprises, including those that produce consumer goods. However, I think that maybe before producing more itself, it should import surpluses of these goods of which there are large quantities outside the Soviet Union. At the same time I must speak frankly about what is happening. As far as the Soviet market is concerned, Western businessmen experience a sense of uncertainty, and this relates in particular to the absence of a convertible ruble and also to a lack of price reforms.

Possibly in a year or two this reform will be carried out, but what will happen during the interim period? After all, lawsuits and controversies may arise, and how will contentious issues be solved at the level of joint enterprises, and with Soviet enterprises? These problems linked with the interim period need interpretation, amplification, and explanation. What do you think, Academician Primakov?

[Zorin] What does the director of the World Economics Institute have to say to this?

[Primakov] Yes, well, I agree that the situation is difficult and that our partners have certain doubts and fears. This is a natural state of affairs, because we began this experiment with mixed companies fairly recently, although you cannot call it an experiment because now this is already one of the practical trends. Maybe if we take a retrospective view on many of our actions, then they too, did not have much trust in us; that ought to be stated directly. However, I think that now everything is being done to really advance this trend. Many innovations are already being implemented. For example, previously the proportion of participation of foreign capital was set only at the 50-50 level...

[Falin, interrupting] Or 49-51.

[Primakov] Yes, 49-51, in our favor. Now we have retreated from this. If we talk about guarantees for foreign capital, well they are based on law; it is guaranteed by law in the Soviet Union. I think this form has a future. However, if you raise the question, Mr. Prime Minister, about the import of consumer goods essential to the Soviet Union, then, as an economist, I can tell you that, of course, a part of our needs must be satisfied through imports. However, I would categorically advise against relying on imports as a means for covering our needs in consumer goods, because this puts us in the

situation of a government that will have to literally, in just a matter of a few years, pay out possibly all of its foreign exchange earnings in the form of interest.

This is a very complicated matter. The main solution to the question, of course, lies in creating an internal mechanism, in changing the internal economic situation in such a way as to sharply increase the consumption of goods essential for the population and services.

[Falin] If you permit, I would like to recall the words Mikhail Sergeyevich said when he met with you; namely, that there are two prerequisites for the Soviet Union's organic fusion with the world economic process. The first requires a scientific and technical revolution, scientific and technical transformations within the Soviet economy itself; and the second, the convertibility of the ruble. Only after these two conditions have been met can our cooperation with any other country become stable and rest on a firm foundation. A clear and reliable confidence then will appear in this cooperation; without this, capital will never seek a sphere of application beyond its national borders.

It was my impression that you agreed with this assessment and that you considered it realistic. How long will this take? If we look at the scientific and technical side of the matter, then the process of transformation in our economy will proceed at a rapid rate, insofar as this is a genuine and natural need. Invested capital will soon give a return. This is a question of the immediate future. As far as convertibility of the ruble is concerned, as our leader has told you, the problem of our internal convertibility must first be resolved; in other words, the possibility for Soviet businessmen, particularly Soviet cooperatives and citizens, to purchase convertible currency for Soviet rubles. This task has been set, and it has been set in a purely practical way, not a theoretical one. It too will be solved.

[Nakasone] I have a question. In order to set up joint enterprises and to get the goods exchange and goods turnover moving, middlemen or brokers are necessary. This category of businessmen plays a very big role in our economy. Some of our specialists say that it appears that you still do not have a recognized legal status for this middleman. You know, these brokers play the role of hormones and vitamins in our economy.

[Primakov] You are correct in this. Yes, you are correct. We need brokerage firms, consulting....

[Falin, interrupting] Consulting companies.

[Primakov continues] ...consulting and information companies and others engaged in marketing. We have a need for them and we will establish them. But, take even our institutes. I can tell you now, for example, that we are working on agreements or have achieved agreement on intentions—this means that part of the way has been

covered—with the Banco Commerciale, the Commercial Bank in Milan, and the Olivetti Company to establish a joint company that will collect the corresponding information and provide the data in which they are interested to our enterprises, as well as to Italian and other West European enterprises.

[Falin] Objectively, in fact, this is the way development should proceed. The main commodity today is information, information in all its forms. Our scientists say that by the end of the century 95 percent of any consumer product, for production or civilian use, will consist of software, of knowledge, and only about 5 percent will consist of energy and the raw materials used in its production. If this is the case, then the engineering and consulting companies, those companies that accumulate the highest achievements of world experience, world science, and world management experience, will be irreplaceable in any modern, structured, and flourishing economy. The example of Japan and a number of other countries attests to this. We want to learn, and you have probably noticed that we have been learning fairly intensively. I should add, however, that here we have the greatest number of deficiencies. We must overcome the biggest gap here in our restructuring.

[Nakasone] This means that presently the provisions of the status of the latter are not legally recognized. In the future they will be legally recognized, and then the brokers will be able to work.

[Primakov] Why? I think that they can be established even now, and are being established.

[Falin, interrupting] There are no obstacles.

[Primakov] There are no obstacles, and they can be established like any joint company.

[Falin] And they even exist.

[Primakov] Many of them exist. I have just cited an example whereby we have formed such....

[Kissinger, interrupting] May I make one point. I am not a businessman and I have no business interests in the Soviet Union; I have never conducted business in the Soviet Union. But my friends, who want to conduct business here, tell me that, of course, the laws have been considerably improved now. But it is extremely difficult to break through your bureaucracy. They have no idea who is responsible for the law. Any help that can be organized, any system that will simplify an understanding of what is very complicated in the USSR would be very helpful.

[Primakov] That is correct.

[Falin] I agree with you, Mr Kissinger. If the armor of our tanks and the armor of our battleships was made of bureaucrats, then they would be invincible.

[Primakov, laughing] They are invincible now, but with bureaucrats they would be even stronger.

[Kissinger] I have heard that even some Soviet citizens do not always understand how the Soviet bureaucracy works. I do not know how true this is.

[Zorin] I even allow that the bureaucracy itself does not always comprehend how it works....

[Falin, interrupting] And why it works.

[Zorin] Yes, and why it works. I think that the discussion we have held attests to the great number of topics we have to discuss. Their number is considerably larger than we can embrace in the short time of our broadcast. As our time is coming to an end, I would like to ask each participant to say something of their own choice to our multi-million audience, something to conclude our discussion. Let us start with you, Dr Kissinger.

[Kissinger] In the last few days, I have had the privilege of meeting with your top leaders, beginning with Mikhail Gorbachev. I was impressed by the sincerity with which they discussed questions of economic progress and of peace. I think that we will succeed in strengthening our peace and that all people will gain from what your leaders propose, if this mood prevails.

[Nakasone] First of all, in connection with the disaster in Armenia, I would like to express my deep condolences to and compassion with all Soviet people, particularly the Armenian people. I would also like to express my gratitude for the condolences sent to us in connection with the demise of the emperor. We would like to develop our relations both politically and economically, in a comprehensive manner. The Japanese people hope that the upcoming visit of General Secretary Gorbachev to Japan will take place. He is impatiently awaited in Japan. General Secretary Gorbachev is currently a world figure, and I am confident that if he visits Japan he will be met with the same hospitality with which he has been met in other countries. We would like him to visit Japan as early as possible.

[Falin] I think that today's meeting, as well as the Moscow visit of the Trilateral Commission in general, confirms the need for more frequent discussion, without avoiding the most complex and acute questions. We will, much more so than in the past, strive to be both students and teachers to one another. If we view the situation in each country with open eyes, then we will always be able to find something that ought to be considered, even as a not particularly positive experience. But the main thing, however, is that we are gradually learning the tradition of discussion, of mutual understanding and respect for each other's sacred thoughts and not just the usual and known considerations. If this was almost impossible yesterday, then today and tomorrow it will be unavoidable and absolutely necessary.

[Zorin] Yevgeniy Maksimovich.

[Primakov] First of all, as a participant in today's meeting, I would like to express my sincere gratitude. The very high assessment of our leader made by two men so greatly experienced in political questions has made a great impression on me. In my opinion, this is very important. I would also like to thank Mr Nakasone for the condolences he has expressed to our people who have suffered from the truly great tragedy in Armenia. You see how many things already unite us. I think that we are now not so much arguing with one another as much as we are coming to some common conclusions. This is the starting point for implementing those...maybe they are still slogans, maybe they are just wishes, but the future of mankind essentially depends on their implementation.

[Zorin] I think that our viewers have listened with great interest to the opinions expressed here by competent Soviet representatives. The viewers no doubt have showed great interest in the unusual appearance—it is not every day that they can see such people as Dr Kissinger and Mr Nakasone on their screens. I think that they have listened to them with great interest. It only remains for me to thank you for participating in this discussion and to express the hope, Mr Kissinger, Mr Nakasone, and my colleagues, that this is not the last time that we will meet here for a similar discussion in Studio 9. Thank you.

Trilateral Symposium Held on Cuban Missile Crisis

Gromyko, Risquet, McNamara Attend
LD2701141789 Moscow TASS in English 1358 GMT
27 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 27 TASS—A trilateral symposium attended by prominent politicians, public figures and scientists from the USSR, Cuba and the USA started discussing the 1962 Caribbean crisis here on January 27.

In his introductory speech Valentin Falin, head of the International Department of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, read out a message by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to symposium participants. U.S. President George Bush also addressed a message to the symposium, which was announced by U.S. Ambassador Jack F. Matlock.

Participants in the trilateral symposium include people who had a say in shaping up the foreign policy of their countries: Andrey Gromyko, Anatoliy Dobrynin, Jorge Risquet Valdes, Del Valle Jimenez, Argones Navarro, Robert McNamara, McGeorge Bundy and others.

The 1962 Caribbean crisis put the world on the brink of a nuclear disaster. Therefore, scientists and politicians seek to make an exact historical reconstruction of the event.

Gorbachev Message Read

LD2701215989 Moscow TASS in English 1928 GMT
27 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 27 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev urged participants in a symposium on the 1962 Caribbean crisis, which opened in Moscow on Friday, "to think over and draw lessons from this event which brought the world to the brink of a nuclear precipice".

"It only proved possible to extinguish this very sharp conflict thanks to a responsible attitude and common sense demonstrated by Nikita Khrushchev, John Kennedy, Fidel Castro and other figures involved in decision-making.

"Even at that time it became crystal-clear that universally shared interests could and must be put before everything else," Gorbachev said.

"Both the substance and evolution of the Caribbean crisis were, of course, closely tied to the international situation in the early 60's, to the cold war atmosphere.

"But studying how crisis of this kind originate as well as ways to settle them politically and diplomatically remains most relevant, especially now that new political thinking has found an ever broader response and practical uses in world affairs," Gorbachev continued.

He wished successful work to the participants in the symposium.

Statements Adopted

LD2801211489 Moscow TASS in English 2050 GMT
28 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 28 TASS—"We hope that human reason will not permit a repetition of anything like it in the times ahead. This round table meeting has strengthened our conviction in the necessity of the irreversible development of current positive tendencies in world politics," said participants in the trilateral symposium on the Caribbean crisis, which ended in the Soviet capital on January 28. The meeting sponsored by the section of the World Economic Problems and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Soviet Association of Political Sciences, the Soviet Peace Fund, was addressed by prominent politicians who were directly or indirectly involved in the October, 1962 developments in the Caribbean as well as by researchers in international affairs, political analysts, Soviet, Cuban and U.S. journalists. Meeting participants received messages from Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush.

"Having reestablished a picture of the dramatic events of October 1962, and having filled a series of empty pages in the history of the Cuban crisis, we have viewed the

past through the prism of the present, endeavoring to maintain a view toward the future," points out a statement adopted by the symposium.

"A broad exchange of views has led us—given all our differences in view—to a common understanding: to deal with an emergent crisis is immeasurably more difficult than to prevent a crisis," says the document. "Any mechanisms of deescalation of an armed confrontation are unreliable. If it is stopped at the fateful point, there is no guarantee that the outcome of another such crisis would turn out so favourably for humanity. Only a new way of thinking and acting, excluding the possibility of the emergence of potentially uncontrollable situation, can provide such a guarantee. The risk of any clash steadily decreases in the course of real disarmament and political dialogue on the basis of common interests in the survival and the co-development of all states and peoples, large and small, which have an indisputable right of independence and sovereignty, and free choice of their path of socio-economic development."

The statement points out that the Caribbean crisis "is instructive also in that it clearly showed the organic interconnection of various levels of security—global and regional, in essence, the indivisibility of security in our multi-faceted, but integral world. The political settlement of the crisis became possible as a result of the achievement of a balance of security interests. This was a precursor of the constructive interaction which in our days is developing in the midst of a diminishing global nuclear threat and the reduction of hot spots in regional conflicts."

Meeting participants recognised that the settlement of the Caribbean crisis "led to a positive result, since it was in accordance with the interests of the sides involved—the USSR, United States and Cuba. It made it possible to avoid a nuclear clash, decreasing the danger hanging over Cuba at that moment. All the same, the settlement did not remove the main causes of the Cuban-American dispute, which awaits its own equitable political resolution."

United States & Canada

Bush Holds First Presidential News Conference *LD2801000189 Moscow TASS in English 2024 GMT* 27 Jan 89

[Text] Washington January 27 TASS—President George Bush held a news conference in the White House today, his first news conference since his inauguration. He told reporters that a week had already passed since the inauguration and that he decided to inform them of the state of affairs at the present moment.

The President said that he would visit Japan, China and South Korea in February. In answer to the question as to what, in his view, would be a reaction to his visiting China earlier than the Soviet Union, Bush said he did not know how it would be viewed but that he wanted to remind the journalists that "I am the one who does not believe in playing the Soviet card or playing the Chinese card". He said the United States had durable bilateral relations with the People's Republic of China and that he was personally acquainted with the leaders whom he would meet, including Deng Xiaoping.

"It just seemed like an appropriate visit—but not to signal a playing of the card. There is nothing of that nature in this visit", Bush said.

The President was asked what was his opinion about the declaration by General Brent Scowcroft, assistant to the President for national security affairs, who said last week that 'the Cold War is not over'.

Let the general defend himself, Bush answered, and went on to say that he had set out his opinion not only during the election campaign but also several times after it as well as to Mr Gorbachev.

Bush said that as far as possible he had tried to avoid such words as 'Cold War' owing to their connotations. When someone tells me 'Cold War', this means that the headway which has been made in our relations has not been taken duly into account, he said. This is why "I would not use that term. But if it's used in the context of, do we still have problems? Are there still uncertainties? Are we still unsure of - in our predictions on Soviet intentions? I'd have to say, yes, we should be cautious".

President Bush stated that he did not intend to engage in 'footdragging' in the development of relations with the Soviet Union but that his administration needed time to make its own evaluation of the state of affairs at the talks on strategic and conventional arms, on chemical weapons, and bilateral relations with the Soviet Union.

Similarly, time is needed for the administration to be able to make an assessment of the situation in Central America, in the Middle East, of the debt problem of the developing countries. This needs some time and I have been in office less than a week, Bush recalled.

PRAVDA Reports News Conference *PM3001091989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian* 29 Jan 89 Second Edition pp 1, 5

[TASS report: "President Bush Press Conference"]

[Excerpts] Washington, 28 Jan—U.S. President George Bush held his first news conference in the White House on Friday. [passage omitted]

The President was asked whether he agreed with the testimony of newly appointed Secretary of Defense Tower, in which he expressed the opinion that the SDI program in the form envisaged by President Reagan is highly improbable.

My stance on SDI has not changed, Bush said, noting that one should wait and study in more detail what Tower has in mind. If he is talking about a shield so impenetrable that it obviates the need for any other defense, I would certainly agree with that.

During the news conference, at which the most diverse questions on the new administration's foreign and domestic policy were touched on, George Bush expressed himself, among other things, in favor of further steps to ensure equal rights for blacks in the United States, promised to combat drug addiction in the country, and supported the proposals submitted to Congress by Reagan to raise the salaries of legislators, federal judges, and senior administration officials. [passage omitted]

Bush Speaks at Ceremony To Swear In Baker *LD2801105289 Moscow TASS in English 1021 GMT* 28 Jan 89

[Text] Washington January 28 TASS—The repeated ceremony to swear in James Baker as the United States' new secretary of state was held in the White House Friday evening. Formally, he was already sworn in on January 25 right after the voting in the Senate of the U.S. Congress which endorsed his appointment as the 61st head of the U.S. diplomatic establishment. The repeated ceremony was held specially for members of the U.S. Congress, State Department officials and newsmen.

Addressing those present President George Bush recalled that he and James Baker were bound by many years of friendship. The President stressed that the state secretary would be "his principal foreign policy advisor".

In my inaugural address, "I've also spoken of a new engagement. Nowhere is the need for a new engagement greater than in foreign policy", Bush said. "Today we live in a distinctly different world than that which we were born into, a world that demands new strategies and new solutions. And today we see a process of change in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, in the Middle East. A changing situation creates new possibilities, as well as dangers".

Bush said that work to solve such global threats as the international narcotics trade, terrorism, the degradation of the world's environment, and the economic distress of developing countries will be among the priority tasks of the new state secretary and the foreign policy team of the current administration.

Kissinger Cited on Meetings With Gorbachev, Bush
PM3001104389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
30 Jan 89 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Message Conveyed"]

[Text] Washington, 29 Jan—In the White House on Saturday, President George Bush received former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who informed him about the results of his recent trip to Moscow in the delegation of Trilateral Commission representatives, and of the conversations with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. During a separate meeting with the Soviet leader on 17 January, Kissinger set out some ideas on the development of Soviet-U.S. relations on the U.S. President's behalf.

After the conversation with Bush, Kissinger told journalists that he had given the President a "friendly message" from M.S. Gorbachev. "Now that I have spent some time with both leaders," he said, "it seems to me that quite constructive relations are being formed between them and that they both wish to achieve progress in the strengthening of peace."

"I think," the former secretary of state noted, "that the Soviet leadership understands that the process of analyzing U.S. foreign policy currently in progress will ensure a good foundation for the establishment of long-term relations." In Kissinger's opinion, the Reagan administration made a "major contribution" to the improvement of U.S.-Soviet relations, and the time has come to give form to them in "the broader context." When President Bush and his immediate advisers have finished their study of the U.S. foreign policy positions, relations between the two countries will be "productive," Kissinger said.

TASS Reports Kissinger Briefing
LD2901120489 Moscow TASS in English 1155 GMT
29 Jan 89

[Text] Washington January 29 TASS—U.S. President George Bush on Saturday met in the White House Henry Kissinger, a prominent U.S. politician and former U.S. secretary of state, who informed the American President about the results of his recent trip to Moscow with the Tripartite Commission and the outcome of the talk with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

After a 45-minute meeting with the President, Kissinger said replying to newsmen's questions that after the President and his closest advisers review the United States' foreign policy stances, "there will be a productive relationship" between the USSR and the United States. Kissinger also stated that the United States, in his view, should engage in foreign policy and let the USSR to care about the latter's internal policy.

Marlin Fitzwater, press secretary of the President, said that Bush heard Kissinger's report and his view with great interest.

Dan Quayle, U.S. vice-president, James Baker, secretary of state, Brent Scowcroft, national security adviser, and John Sununu, White House chief of staff, were present at the meeting.

Scowcroft 'Cold War' Remark Comes as 'Surprise'
LD2901023789 Moscow in English to North America
2300 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] We continue with "Moscow Viewpoint" by Valentin Zorin.

The Soviet people, he writes, were happy to note the optimistic notes struck by President Bush, as he looked into the prospects of Soviet-American relations in his inauguration speech. They also saw hope for further relations in many statements by members of his Administration and in American press reports. In this context a recent statement by the President's national security adviser, General Scowcroft, comes as a surprise. Speaking on ABC earlier this week, he revealed caution as regards the Soviet Union and strong suspicion as regards motivation of Soviet policies. General Scowcroft dismissed the announced Soviet arms and troop reductions as a time winning ploy and said the cold war was still going on.

All this seems to be at odds with the trend towards more mutual understanding which has marked bilateral relations of the past few years. The day Gen Scowcroft spoke on ABC, former American Secretary of State Henry Kissinger appeared on Soviet television, speaking about his meetings with Mikhail Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders. He was impressed, he said, by the frank way they discussed consolidation of peace and further economic progress. He pointed out that if such attitudes persisted our two countries would succeed in promoting peace while humanity at large would benefit from the Soviet proposals.

Henry Kissinger was proceeding from the experience of his visit in the Soviet Union and his meetings in the Kremlin. And what was Gen Scowcroft proceeding from when he examined Soviet policies for ABC? As I had met Gen Scowcroft at several Soviet-American scientific meetings I knew that he seemed to have no inclination for empty rhetoric. On the contrary, his remarks revealed professionalism. It is all the more strange that

he failed to reveal this quality when speaking for the first time in his new capacity. The allegation that the cold war between the Soviet Union and the United States was continuing would be better for a newspaper headline than for a considered remark by a ranking official.

The cold war usually implies the use of every hostility, short of military force, against another state. Soviet policies, however, are free of any hostile actions against the United States. Hopefully, the Soviet-American summits and the agreements they have produced would serve to remove whatever hostility there is in American policies towards this country. I'd like to believe that the outdated stereotypes invoked by Mr Scowcroft were accidental rather than reflecting his political program.

Tower, Baker Statements Decried as Confrontational
LD2701222889 Moscow World Service in English
1310 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Aleksandr Pogodin commentary from the "News and Views" program]

[Text] One week has passed since Mr George Bush was inaugurated President of the United States. Although it is probably too short a time to judge his Administration's policies, Aleksandr Pogodin draws attention to what both President Bush and his immediate supporters in the Administration have had to say.

Statements about prospects for Soviet-U.S. relations, the relaxation of international tension and arms reductions, have commanded special interest here in Moscow. That is only natural. There are already some promising facts. First of all, it's the telephone conversation that Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush had earlier in the week. That was a friendly conversation. The two leaders said they wanted broader cooperation and better relations. And they discussed some concrete questions, which is a sign of readiness for more energetic dialogue. The Soviet Union has understood President Bush's wish in an interview with TIME and NEWSWEEK magazines to size up relations with the Soviet Union and push them further. It's understood this will provide more concrete proposals for talks.

There have been some other judgements. When the Senate was endorsing Mr John Towers's appointment as defense secretary, he claimed the Soviet Union would remain the United States' arch enemy and the United States, he added, had to bear this in mind when outlining approaches to key international problems. And Secretary of State James Baker, who has also won Senate approval, has said the United States is still in two minds about a humanitarian meeting in Moscow to bring together the nations that took part in the European security conference. Mr Baker claimed Moscow had to prove it has the right to play host to a conference of this kind, although the decision that has just been adopted in Vienna was supported by the United States delegation.

These and some other pronouncements make you recall confrontation stereotypes. Let's hope the Soviet Union and the United States will continue cooperating at all levels, including the summit, to get rid of the burden of the past.

Tower's Remarks at Senate Hearings Reported

Calls Star Wars 'Unrealistic'
LD2701230389 Moscow World Service in English
1600 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] The newly appointed United States Defense Secretary John Tower has, at hearings in the Senate, warned that the Star Wars program is unrealistic. His appointment to the post is being approved by the Senate.

He said it would be unrealistic to assume that the proposed system of antimissile defense could protect the entire population of the United States from a nuclear strike.

Urges Japanese Defense Spending
LD2801022289 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1357 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 27 Jan (TASS)—Askold Biryukov, a TASS political observer writes:

Everything that has happened could have been seen as a "scandal in a noble home" if something serious was not really behind it. At the Senate Armed Services Committee hearings to discuss John Tower's confirmation as U.S. defense secretary, the latter permitted himself to say a few words about a Far Eastern ally of the United States, which cannot but be viewed as direct pressure or even interference in that country's internal affairs.

Tower, who has been nominated as Pentagon chief, told the senators that the United States must make use of all its resources in order to encourage Japan to increase its military spending, despite the restrictions of that country's Constitution. "I do not believe," he explained, "that this Constitution contains restrictions which could prevent the Japanese from allocating a considerably greater proportion of their gross national product for defense." Japan must be responsible for the defense of the Asian-Pacific Ocean region, he stressed.

Tower, just like some of his predecessors, can undoubtedly permit himself to be ignorant of the details of the Japanese Constitution, which not only says nothing about the limits of Japanese military spending, but also says nothing about the very possibility of making such expenditures.

What is more, the supreme law of the land says that Japan renounces war forever and, in the name of this goal, will not create ground, naval, or air forces. But what does Tower care about that? For him, the more peace-loving a constitution is, the worse it is.

However, what Tower can do, a Japanese politician cannot do. Even the chief of the Japanese National Defense Agency had to express "regret" in connection with the statement of his U.S. colleague. He claimed that Tower does not understand the attitude of the Japanese people toward these matters, especially toward the Constitution, and that the Japanese Government "still respects" the decision of the 1976 cabinet about holding the military budget to one percent of the country's gross national product. The Japanese Foreign Ministry, reports YOMIURI, hastened to announce that "the development of Japan's defense capacity is in accordance with its independent decision, and not on instructions from another side." "Is it really possible for a foreigner to say such a thing," asked a highly placed person at the ministry, "when we are striving to observe the Constitution?" The Japanese Foreign Ministry has stated that the government "in keeping with the framework of the Constitution," has no intention of changing course in the realm of defense since it cannot fail to take into account the influence it wields over the countries of the Pacific Basin.

As we can see, the reaction of official Tokyo is fairly sharp. The question arises, however, in light of its policies in practice, as to whether all this displeasure, these assurances of faithfulness to the Constitution and obligation to keep the growth of military spending within one percent of gross national product, are merely lip-service to public opinion and to Japan's neighbors, who are concerned over its military preparations? After all, Tokyo's actual doings testify to the fact that for the 3d year in succession now, the country is in violation of the one percent limit on this expenditure, which in fiscal year 1989 is growing by six percent by comparison with the previous year. And what about the fact that for the 8th year in a row now, the annual growth in military expenditure is in excess of five percent, as a result of which Japan is already in third place in the world in terms of this spending? To justify this expenditure by reference to a mythical "Soviet threat," "military buildup" etc. is essentially to repeat the same theses operated by Tower in calling on Japan and other allies not to begrudge spending on military preparations in the Asian-Pacific region.

Chernov Urges U.S. To Cut Conventional Weapons
OW2701120389 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1145 GMT 25 Jan 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Vitaliy Ilyashenko]

[Text] Hello, comrades. A conference on the problems and prospects of reducing conventional arms in Europe continues its work today in the Geneva National Palace. Participating in this conference are authoritative specialists in the field of disarmament from more than 20 European states.

Speaking at this representative forum, Colonel General N.F. Chernov, head of a USSR General Staff of the Armed Forces Directorate, emphasized that the Soviet Union never separated the question of reducing conventional armament from other disarmament questions. Today, when the real nuclear disarmament process is underway, when much has been achieved toward the 50 percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons, the problem of conventional armaments becomes a pressing issue. The USSR unilateral decision to reduce its armed forces by 500,000 people has been an important step in this direction.

Nothing prevents the United States and NATO from responding in a similarly constructive way. Our country displayed an example of confidence and turned from stockpiling of weapons to reducing their numbers. A good example deserves to be followed.

'Secret' Pentagon Budget Threatens World Security
LD2701152989 Moscow TASS in English 1508 GMT
27 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 27 TASS—By TASS military commentator Vladimir Chernyshov:

Representatives of the U.S. Administration like to stress the U.S. "openness" in military matters, but prefer not to mention such a "trifling" as programs for the development of new types of armaments and weapon systems, which do not figure in any open documents. In reality appropriations for these programs add up to form the Pentagon's "secret budget", which annually accounts for quite impressive sums. They grew 8-fold in the fiscal years from 1981 to 1986, reaching an annual level of 17 thousand million dollars. In the 1989 fiscal years the "secret budget" rose to 21.1 thousand million dollars, and in the 1991 fiscal year it is liable to reach 28.7 thousand million dollars or 22 per cent of the Pentagon's total spendings on research.

New weapon systems, combat aircraft, robots for use on radioactive battlefields, nuclear strike coordination satellites, nuclear war communication systems—these are but a few of the projects financed from the "secret budget". The Pentagon keeps all these programs secret not only from public opinion, but from the Congress, from the general accounting office and even from its own auditing bodies. The code-names, purpose and costs of these programs are all classified.

Why is this done? The reason lies not only in the desire to safeguard military secrets. A far from insignificant role is played by the desire to make huge spendings without corroborating the expediency of developing this or that type of weapon. Neither the Congress nor public opinion are in a position to judge whether the United States needs this or that weapon, financed from the "secret budget", whether it is liable to destabilise the military-strategic situation or not.

World public opinion should be most disturbed by the fact that secret preparations for a third world war could be carried out within the frameworks of this "budget". The Pentagon expects military systems, developed without any congressional control and based on the latest technology, to dictate future strategies. It should be vice versa, however. The military-political strategy in force should determine the need in this or that type of weapons or military techniques. In the light of all this we can only solidarize with the expressed view of some American experts that as millions upon millions of dollars are swallowed up by the "secret budget", the U.S. nuclear strategy becomes less and less known.

In the present-day conditions, when the trend towards openness in the military domain becomes increasingly prevalent in the international arena, thereby promoting mutual trust and strategic stability, the existence and constant growth of the "secret budget" cannot be regarded otherwise than a backslide factor, running counter to the people's desire to curb the arms race and to build up a secure world.

'Selectiveness' of U.S. Accusations Against Libya
LD2801154289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1030 GMT 28 Jan 89

[From the 'International Diary' program presented by Oleg Blinov]

[Excerpts] America's ABC Television Company broadcast an interview with [Mu'ammarr] al-Qadhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, in which he touched on the anti-Libyan campaign whipped up on the other side of the ocean in connection with the construction that is nearing completion of a large chemical complex at Al-Rabitah near the Libyan capital. Al-Qadhafi again denied the allegations by Washington officials that the complex is intended for the production of toxic combat substances. The Libyan leader repeated the proposal put forward earlier that an international inspection be carried out of the industrial installation being built at Al-Rabitah, which he says will produce medical products. Al-Qadhafi did not object in principle to repeated inspections, provided that similar international supervision be established over chemical plants in other countries. As is well known, the United States has rejected the idea of a single international inspection of the Al-Rabitah complex on the basis that this, it is claimed, is insufficient to determine its purpose. Meanwhile, talk is continuing in official U.S. circles about possibly making a military strike against the Libyan chemical plant to prevent the production of chemical weapons.

Much has been said, and quite rightly so, about the fact that the threat of using force against this sovereign Arab state is incompatible with the norms of international law, and is a relapse into a policy of international

terrorism. But are there any weighty grounds for the U.S. charges against Libya? I will ask my colleague, Igor Surguchev, to give his view on this.

[Begin Surguchev recording] I have fairly attentively followed the reports concerning the Al-Rabitah chemical complex, and I have formed the opinion that there is no weighty and convincing proof of the validity of the U.S. charges against Libya. At any rate, the United States has been backing them up only by reference to alleged secret information from its intelligence services. [passage omitted] In conclusion, I will cite information that has been published by Stockholm's International Peace Problems Research Institute. According to this information, in 1987 seven states besides the USSR and the United States definitely possessed chemical weapons, but Libya was not among them. Surely the U.S. selectiveness is glaringly obvious. In advocating the nonproliferation of chemical weapons the United States fulminates only against Libya, and is even threatening that country with an armed attack.

All that has been said by no means disposes one to confidence in the accusations against Libya from across the ocean—of its striving to possess toxic combat agents. [end recording]

China

Soviet-Chinese Relations Viewed Optimistically
OW2701232889 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 1400 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Right now, China and the Soviet Union are making preparations for a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting. To prepare for this meeting, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze will visit Beijing in early February. Not long ago, Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen visited Moscow. Many people believe that the forthcoming meeting between Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping will mark the beginning of a new stage in Soviet-Chinese relations and push such relations to a brand new level. This meeting will surely have a good effect on the entire international situation. In this connection, our station observer Ivanov writes:

It is hard to appraise the significance of establishing and consolidating the fine relations between the two major socialist countries, which are also two nuclear powers. What attracts our attention is the fact that some well-known people in both countries said as much at the beginning of this century. For example, Mendeleyev, a great Soviet scientist in chemistry who found the periodic law of chemical elements, said as early as in 1902: The Soviet-Chinese alliance is the forerunner of a great world alliance. The reason is that the population of the two countries accounts for more than one-third of the world population. This alliance is of a peaceful and defensive nature. In addition, each country can supply what the other needs. No other nations have the type of

natural resources that these two countries have. Neither the Soviet Union nor China seeks to overpower or threaten the other. They are not accustomed to doing this.

Naturally, tremendous changes have taken place in our two countries as well as in the whole world from the beginning of this century to the present. The issue of forming an alliance between the two countries, as mentioned by Mendeleyev or stipulated in the Soviet-Chinese treaty signed on 14 February 1950, no longer exists. We believe that the most important thing is to avoid confrontation and ease tension, and to maintain stable and good-neighborly relations between the two countries. All this will definitely have a good effect on the world community. The Soviet Union has always advocated these principles put forward by the Chinese leaders—principles that can be used as the foundation for promoting the Soviet-Chinese relationship at the present stage. These principles are the well-known five principles for peaceful coexistence. In fact, all countries should develop the relations among them on the basis of friendship, good-neighborliness, equality, and mutual benefit. I believe we should conform to the trend of the times in promoting economic developments between the two countries and realizing the ideals put forward by Mendeleyev. It is known to all that both the Soviet Union and China have abundant natural resources. Economically, they can supplement each other, help supply each other's needs, and cooperate with each other.

Despite the fact that specific conditions for building socialism in the Soviet Union and China may be different, the two countries nevertheless have many things in common in this regard. Therefore, they may share each other's experience and cooperate with each other. In short, the various factors, either in the past or at present, make us believe that there is an optimistic future for Soviet-Chinese relations.

PRC Official on Agenda for Shevardnadze Visit
OW2801031089 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0600 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] It was announced in Moscow and Beijing that Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze will arrive in China on 2 February for a 3-day visit. At a press briefing in Beijing on Thursday, Li Zhaoxing, a spokesman for the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said: Shevardnadze will hold talks with Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen to make preparations for a summit between Soviet and Chinese leaders.

He added: The talks between Soviet and Chinese foreign ministers will also touch on the Cambodian issue. Shevardnadze will also meet other Chinese leaders and talk with them on issues of mutual interest.

Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen visited the Soviet Union in early December last year. He was granted an interview by Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Supreme Soviet, during his stay in Moscow. He also held talks with Shevardnadze.

Initial Results of Sino-Vietnamese Talks Viewed
OW2701200789 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0600 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Federov commentary, from the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] Initial results have been achieved in Sino-Vietnamese talks, after a decade-long interruption. In Hanoi, Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach declared that the two sides had reached an agreement on the timetable of the SRV's troop withdrawal from Cambodia—that is, Vietnam would withdraw all its troops before September 1989 on condition that military assistance to all factions in Cambodia be stopped. In this connection, our station observer Federov has the following to say:

A general thawing trend has prevailed in the global political climate, and dialogue between various factions in Cambodia has proceeded smoothly, thus accelerating the international process for reconciliation there. The bilateral talks we have witnessed today once again prove the need for direct contacts. The two sides have agreed, or found a common ground, on a number of questions which were still unsolvable not long ago. The agreement reached between Vietnam and China in the talks in Beijing indicates that they have assumed a positive and responsible attitude to the Cambodian question. Both China and Vietnam hold that internal problems are the affair of the Cambodian people and should be resolved among themselves, and that foreign countries should be responsible only for affairs of an international nature, and should endeavor to stop the war in Cambodia and create the conditions for peace for the Cambodian people. It is precisely based on this motivation that the two sides at the Beijing talks decided that while Vietnam withdraws its troops from Cambodia, military assistance to all Cambodian factions be stopped. This is the only effective way to prevent internal war in Cambodia, because the civil war broke out as a result of the Pol Pot clique's attempt to seize the regime. A cease-fire will provide all Khmer parties with a realistic opportunity to achieve a reconciliation as soon as possible.

In short, China and Vietnam have achieved initial results in their talks. What is needed now is to implement these results. In my opinion, in the process of implementing the results, prospects for the normalization of Sino-Vietnamese relations will emerge, which is in line not only with the interests of the people of the two countries, but also with the ultimate interests of the Asia-Pacific region—that is, the interests of peace, security, and cooperation.

In an interview with India's NATIONAL TRIBUNE on Sunday, Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party, said: Differences between Vietnam and China are temporary and secondary, but their common interests are long-term and vital.

Border Cooperation Talks With PRC 'Successful'
OW2701180089 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0100 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Lebedev commentary]

[Text] The Soviet Union and China held the Third Meeting of the Committee on the Comprehensive Utilization of the Argun and the Amur in Beijing. Station commentator Lebedev writes in this connection.

Sino-Soviet relations have seen rapid development in recent years. The reforms in the two countries have contributed to this development. Bilateral trade volume has increased; cooperation in economic, scientific, technological, and cultural areas has also expanded. The Soviet Union hopes that the 7,500 kilometer-long border with China will unite the Soviet and Chinese peoples, not separate them. A certain development has been achieved in this area. The talks on border issues carried out by the government delegations from the Soviet Union and China have been carried on for 2 years. Three such talks were held in 1987-1988. One of the important results of the talks was the agreement to establish a permanent experts group. Experts from this group periodically and alternately held consultation talks in the capitals of two countries to study border issues. At the same time, the Soviet Union and China held discussions on the issue of economic and other cooperation issues in border regions—for example, to strengthen the cooperation on joint utilization of water resources, the Third Meeting of the Committee on the Comprehensive Use of the Argun and the Amur was held in Beijing. Both sides agreed in evaluating the results of the joint work in 1988 as satisfactory, and approved the work plan of the committee for this year. The committee did a lot of work last year, carrying out comprehensive hydrological and terrain surveys, and thus laying the foundations for joint utilization of water resources along border rivers. Particularly worth mentioning is the utilization of the power resources, flood prevention, protection of normal navigation, and the protection and the increase in fishing resources. The Chinese side highly evaluated the committee work. (Zhang Chunyuan), vice minister of China's Ministry of Water Resources and Electric Power, pointed out: In order to ensure the effective utilization of resources along both sides of the rivers, protect surrounding environment, and solve ecological problems, both sides have carried out an in-depth and comprehensive review of issues concerning the joint construction of water conservancy works and equipment in the future.

Border Trade, Tourism With PRC Further Developed
OW2901133089 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1900 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Kryuchkov video report from the "120 Minutes" program]

[Text] A treaty between tourist organizations of Amur Oblast and the Chinese province of Heilongjiang on further development of border tourism has been signed.

[Kryuchkov] After 15 minutes riding in a comfortable bus along the icy road across the Amur, one can reach Heihe, China's northernmost city. Heihe meets Soviet tourists cordially and hospitably, in memory of those who in 1945 participated in the liberation of the Chinese people from the Japanese aggressors. Heihe is the city through which industrial and agricultural products are transported to domestic Chinese markets and to the USSR. [video shows a monument in Heihe; city streets; an exhibition; and consumer goods on display, such as personal computers, TV and radio sets, and clothing]

Residents of Amur Oblast have been acquainting themselves with specimens of the exhibition, which has been organized by the [name indistinct] Import-Export Company of Heilongjiang. Some of the articles exhibited here have already appeared or will shortly appear in stores, industrial enterprises, and medical establishments of Amur region. Of course, it is limited what one could do on a 1-day tour. Nevertheless, it gives one a chance to get better acquainted with life in China.

[Begin recording of an unidentified local Soviet tourism official] For 1989, we plan to provide services for about 107 groups comprising almost 4,000 tourists. The same number of tourist will come from the PRC to Blagoveshchensk. It is time to extend the geography of our routes. For this year, we envisage the following routes: for the PRC tourists, it will be Blagoveshchensk and Khabarovsk; and for our Blagoveshchensk tourists, it will be Heihe and Harbin. [video shows Soviet tourists in Heihe] [end recording]

Northeast Asia

Gorbachev Will Not Attend Hirohito's Funeral
OW3001030689 Tokyo KYODO in English 0250 GMT
30 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, Jan. 30 KYODO—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev will not attend the funeral of Japan's Emperor Hirohito, the Japanese Embassy in Moscow said Monday.

Gorbachev will be represented at the February 24 state funeral by Anatoliy Lukyanov, first vice president of the Supreme Soviet, the Soviet legislature, it said.

The embassy said it was informed of Lukyanov's attendance by the Soviet foreign ministry.

U.S. television networks had speculated that Gorbachev would go to Tokyo for the funeral since U.S. President George Bush has said he will attend.

The choice of Lukyanov, 58, who is newly elected as an alternate Politburo member, as the chief delegate to the funeral of Emperor Hirohito indicates that the Soviets at least now recognize the late emperor as a head of state, according to Japanese sources.

Lukyanov will be accompanied by his wife. The embassy said the delegation will also include Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev and ambassador to Japan Nikolay Solovyev.

Misawa Tracking Center, SDI Program Questioned
OW2901001589 Moscow in Japanese to Japan
1200 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Dmitriyev commentary: "A Star War Base at Misawa"]

[Text] The United States plans to build a large satellite tracking center at the air base in Misawa, Aomori Prefecture, as part of the Strategic Defense Initiative [SDI] program. Concerning this, Radio Moscow Commentator Dmitriyev writes as follows:

According to the Misawa Air Base paper **NORTHERN LIGHT**, two powerful antennas and a communications unit connected to central headquarters will be built at the Misawa Air Base. This news has aroused attention on several important issues.

As is well known, Japan spends large amounts of funds on maintaining U.S. military bases. The presence of U.S. Forces is justified by the need to safeguard the security of Japan itself and the West as a whole. However, in this case, Japan will come to possess strategic facilities that have utterly nothing to do with the security of Japan or of the West.

Even on the U.S. domestic front, no one seriously takes the SDI program as a shield impenetrable to nuclear missiles. Technologically speaking, the program is nontactical. The defense system now under study by the U.S. military is capable of intercepting merely 30 percent of nuclear warheads. It is certain that, in case of a nuclear war, this system cannot save mankind from the jaws of death.

Then why is it necessary to carry out such a sophisticated SDI program? According to a U.S. military source, the objective lies in defending military bases on the continental United States. The objective lies in attaining military supremacy rather than in intercepting nuclear arms. It is obvious that the new radar center at the Misawa Air Base will operate for this purpose.

Second, the deployment of 50 F-16 fighter-bombers capable of carrying nuclear warheads indicates Japan's further involvement in U.S. nuclear strategy. The establishment of a new radar center will probably indicate Japan's involvement in actual development of the SDI program without the government's approval.

Furthermore, a question will arise as to what the result of building this center will be when the treaty on limiting antiballistic missiles is taken into consideration. At present, the question concerning the observance of this treaty remains unsettled at the USSR-U.S. negotiations on reducing 50 percent of strategic nuclear arms.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, the project for the Krasnoyarsk Radar Base, which the United States regards as a violation of the ABM treaty, has been suspended to clear U.S. suspicions. Shouldn't we refrain from taking any action that may arouse suspicions of partners in negotiations on nuclear disarmament? Naturally, this appeal is applicable to the United States first. However, Japan is not a small Pacific island where the U.S. Department of Defense can deploy whatever it deems necessary. Nevertheless, the Japanese Government's position is, in fact, to provide U.S. military personnel with conditions similar to what they enjoy on U.S. territories.

At this juncture, when a debate has arisen as to whether or not Japan should participate in the SDI program, the Japanese Foreign Ministry has issued a statement saying that regarding the interpretation of the ABM treaty, it will follow the position taken by the United States. This means that the United States can build any facilities that it feels necessary in Japan as part of the SDI program. The tracking center at Misawa, which the United States plans to start operating by mid-1992, will probably become the first of such facilities.

Japan's Increased Defense Budget Criticized
OW2901125689 Moscow in Japanese to Japan
1200 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] The Soviet newspaper **PRAVDA** carries an article by its correspondent in Tokyo, Latyshev, regarding the Japanese Government's approval of this year's budget bill. We would like to introduce you to the contents of the article:

While the mounting international mood is for a halt to the arms race, an attitude negating this mood is, in turn, becoming increasingly dominant in the Japanese Government.

Designs to increase military expenditure, and thus expand arms production, have become clear at the Cabinet session which approved this year's budget bill. According to the approved budget bill, military spending in Japan this year will rise about 6 percent over last year to 3.9 trillion yen, the highest amount ever.

In military spending, Japan now ranks among the top few nations of the world, having surpassed all the countries in Asia and Western Europe. The recent increase in military spending has been at a faster tempo than when it was contained within the limit of 1 percent of the gross national product. The military budget plan approved this year is exceeding the one-percent level again, as in the past 2 years.

The sponsors of the military spending increases for the past 3 consecutive years have been senior officials of the Defense Agency and the Liberal Democratic Party. As an excuse for the policy in this regard, the threat of the Soviet Union is again cited.

This time there is an additional excuse from the Japanese Government for arms expansion—that Japan has to show its willingness to share the military burden of its ally, the United States, in greater proportion than before.

However we may look at the question, it is apparent that the real intention of the military expansion is not to fulfill an ally's obligations, but to reintroduce military power as a tool of power politics.

This policy is aimed at stepping up the economic expansion of Japanese monopolistic capitalism and at establishing a leading role for Japan in the Asia-Pacific region. The government's policy line on increasing military expenditures is inviting severe criticism from peace forces in Japan. Both the Japan Communist Party and the Japan Socialist Party have made their positions against this policy very clear.

Atomic Cooperation Program With Japanese Signed
LD2701235389 Moscow TASS in English 2105 GMT
27 Jan 89

[Text] Tokyo January 27 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev:

A programme for scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR State Committee for the Utilisation of Atomic Energy and the Japanese Atomic Industrial Forum for 1989-1990 was signed in Tokyo today.

The programme, which was adopted as a result of the sixth meeting of representatives of the two organizations here on January 20-27, envisages exchanges of information, bilateral symposiums on problems connected, in particular, with the utilisation of fast-neutron breeder reactors, the development of high-temperature nuclear gas reactors, and nuclear-powered ships.

The document was signed by A.N. Protsenko, chairman of the committee, and by Tomichiro Shirasawa, deputy chairman of the forum.

A memorandum expressing satisfaction with the course of implementation of the 1977 bilateral agreement on cooperation on the peaceful uses of atomic energy was signed as well. The sides agreed that such cooperation was mutually beneficial and should be continued.

It was also agreed to give greater scope to Soviet-Japanese cooperation within the framework of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Soviet Bank Opens South Korean Bank Account
SK2701065189 Seoul YONHAP in English 0645 GMT
27 Jan 89

[Text] Seoul, Jan. 27 (YONHAP)—Amid the rising sentiment for improved trade relations between South Korea and the Soviet Union, a Soviet bank has opened an account with a Korean bank for the first time.

The Bank for Foreign Economic Affairs of the Soviet Union, the only Soviet settlement institution in the overseas sector, deposited on Thursday two million U.S. dollars with the London branch of the Cho-Heung Bank, one of Korea's commercial banks, for a time deposit due in two months, Cho-Heung Bank said Friday.

It marks the first time for a Soviet bank to deal with a Korean bank in the international financial market.

In a move to promote trade between the two nations, the Soviet bank has established a letter of credit with five Korean banks—Korea Exchange Bank, Bank of Seoul, Commercial Bank of Korea, Cho-Heung Bank and Korea First Bank—and has signed correspondent agreements with the Korean banks since last December.

Three Korean commercial banks—Bank of Seoul, Cho-Heung and Korea First—each opened accounts and deposited 100,000 to 200,000 dollars with the Soviet bank's head office by signing depository correspondent agreements, which require the establishment of an account with a bank in the trading partner country for settlement.

DPRK, ROK Prepare for First Official Meeting
OW2701195689 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1220 GMT 24 Jan 89

[From the "World Today" program, presented by Valentin Dvinin]

[Text] Reports of the development of contacts between Pyongyang and Seoul have been received from the Far East. Last Monday, the South Korean authorities confirmed their consent to hold a meeting between the DPRK and South Korean official representatives. It will be held in February in Panmunjom village, located on the demarcation line separating the Korean peninsula. It is planned that 5-man delegations from the 2 sides will agree on the conditions for holding a meeting between the prime ministers of the 2 countries, who will then

have to hold an essential discussion of the political and military aspects of bilateral relations, and problems of reducing tension on the Korean peninsula.

The idea of such a high-level meeting was proposed by Kim Il-song, DPRK president.

Shevardnadze Receives Mongolian Ambassador
LD2701115489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1100 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, today received Gurbadam, Mongolian ambassador to the Soviet Union, at the latter's request.

In the discussion, which passed in a warm, comradely atmosphere, a productive exchange of views took place on certain questions of bilateral relations and on a number of international problems.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Peace Settlement Stressed in Thai-PRK Talks

Hun Sen, Thai Premier Confer
BK2801090589 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia
1100 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Commentary by station commentator Vladimir Koro-
lov]

[Text] Talks between Thai Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan and Comrade Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, have been held in Bangkok.

Not long ago such talks would have been hard to visualize. Now, Cambodian-Thai talks at a high level have become a reality. This has come about as a result of new attitudes. Constructive tendencies do not depend on force but on peace negotiations based on existing facts, and the dialogue between the Thai and Cambodian leaders in Bangkok bear testimony to that.

Chatchai Chunhawan said the contending Cambodian parties should do away with the nonsensical bloodshed and talk together in order to determine Cambodia's future in the interests of regional peace. Comrade Hun Sen endorses the cessation of foreign military aid to the opposing Cambodian factions, favoring an early completion of the Vietnamese troop withdrawal from Cambodia.

The PRK-SRV decision on the possibility of a Vietnamese troop pullout from Cambodia by September has given impetus to a peace settlement process. The exchange of views between the high-level representatives of the Vietnamese and Chinese foreign ministries lasted a full day in Beijing after a break of many years. Chinese

Foreign Minister Qian Qichen recently said China did not concur with the Khmer Rouge group's policy and its return to monopoly power in Phnom Penh.

The ASEAN countries have lately stepped up their special efforts in the quest for a settlement of the Cambodian problem. The second meeting among the concerned parties initiated by ASEAN is scheduled for 19 February in Jakarta. In their Brunei meeting, the ASEAN foreign ministers issued a statement saying they were optimistic about a settlement of the Cambodian problem, which they believed could be found this year. It was reported that the ASEAN group also planned to invite the Soviet Union, China, the United States, India, Japan, and other countries to the Jakarta meeting.

We believe that the initiative has been taken in the wake of positive changes in the relations between superpowers in order to clean up the international mess.

Relations Will Be 'Normalized'

BK2901025189 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia
1100 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Station commentator Nikolayev's commentary]

[Text] The world public has paid great attention to the visit to Bangkok by Comrade Hun Sen, head of the PRK Government. Reviewing the outcome of the Cambodian-Thai talks, big news agencies have regarded this meeting as a significant step on the road toward settling the conflicts in Southeast Asia. Our commentator, Comrade Nikolayev, writes:

It is truly difficult to correctly analyze the significance of Comrade Hun Sen's visit to Thailand, although it is an unofficial one.

After meeting with Comrade Hun Sen, Thai Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan said: We have had direct talks with the PRK leader. This will enable each side to more clearly understand the other's stance regarding a permanent settlement of the Cambodian conflict.

The talks proceeded successfully. It is true that the visit to Thailand by the head of the Cambodian Government cannot eliminate the differences of opinion between the two countries. The open confrontation for the past 10 years has left a deep wound. But the most important point is that leaders of the two countries agreed that it is necessary to bring back peace to the region—the faster the better.

We are happy to notice that the new line which has just been announced by the Thai leaders—on restoring good-neighborly relations with the neighboring countries in Indochina—is being put into practice. As is known to all, the Thai prime minister has visited Laos and the Thai foreign minister has visited Hanoi. This is followed by a new meeting between the top leader of Thailand and the head of the PRK Government.

Our commentator, Comrade Nikolayev, adds:

Although this is not an ordinary event, it is, in my opinion, in line with the objective requirement. In the past 10 years, there have been many changes in the world situation in general where dialogue has replaced confrontation. What is very clear is that the Cambodian problem cannot be resolved through the use of arms. It is necessary to choose other ways to solve this problem, one being the dialogue between all sides. This is understandable by all, including the circles in Bangkok where efforts are being made to help solve the Cambodian problem by facing the realities.

In my opinion, after Comrade Hun Sen's visit to Thailand and within the near future, relations between Bangkok and Phnom Penh will certainly be normalized, and this will unfailingly promote peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

SRV Foreign Minister Confirms Pullout Schedule
BK2801034689 Moscow International Service
in Vietnamese 1400 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach expressed regret at the decision of Prince Norodom Sihanouk—one of the heads of the Khmer opposition parties—not to participate in the second Jakarta Informal Meeting on Cambodia, which is scheduled to be held in Indonesia from 19-21 February. He was speaking at a news conference held in New Delhi today [27 January].

Minister Nguyen Co Thach said that this decision by Prince Sihanouk would neither cause any obstacles to the holding of the Jakarta meeting nor drive Vietnam into rescheduling the timetable for its troop withdrawal from Cambodia.

The Vietnamese foreign minister stressed that Vietnam would withdraw all of its Army units from Cambodia by September this year if a political solution on the Cambodian issue was reached and if foreign military aid to the Khmer factions was terminated.

SRV, PRC Deputy Foreign Ministers Meet
LD2901114289 Moscow TASS in English 1315 GMT
29 Jan 89

[Text] Hanoi January 29 TASS—Vietnam and China agreed that the withdrawal of all Vietnamese troops from Cambodia should put an end to all military aid to the opposition "Khmer" groups, a Vietnamese Foreign Ministry spokesman said in an interview with the VIETNAMESE NEWS AGENCY.

The meeting held by the Chinese deputy foreign minister with his Vietnamese counterpart Dinh Nho Liem during the latter's recent visit to Beijing, have an opportunity to

consider ways of normalization of Vietnamese-Chinese relations. [as received] The meetings were held as part of preparations for a meeting of the Vietnamese and Chinese foreign ministers.

The sides discussed the international and internal aspects of the Cambodian problem. Vietnam, the Vietnamese spokesman said, reaffirmed its conviction that Cambodia's internal problems should be resolved by its people and discussed by the "Khmer" sides without any outside interference. All countries, the spokesman said, should respect Cambodia's independence and neutrality. It is necessary to exert every effort to encourage negotiations between the Khmer sides, respect the agreements which they have already reached and try to involve them more actively in the national reconciliation process.

The Vietnamese Foreign Ministry spokesman expressed the hope that through good will and joint efforts Vietnam and China would soon normalize and restore friendly relations.

SRV General Secretary Visits Gandhi in India
OW2701200189 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1145 GMT 25 Jan 89

["The World Today" program, presented by Vitaliy Ilyashenko]

[Text] Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Vietnamese Communist Party, continues his visit to India.

The ministers of the two countries signed a trade and economic cooperation agreement between India and Vietnam. [video shows shots of two unidentified ministers signing the agreements] These agreements in particular envisage widening of cooperation in such spheres as oil exploration on the Vietnamese sea shelf, formation of joint enterprises, and establishing scientific, technical, and cultural ties.

Nguyen Van Linh spoke with Indian President Venkataraman. [video shows the two leaders shaking hands] Following this, the General Secretary of the Vietnamese Communist Party held talks with Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

India and Vietnam have been maintaining friendly relations for many years now. Currently, the efforts of the governments of the two countries are directed, not only at broadening bilateral relations, but also at a joint search for ways to strengthen peace and security in Asia.

One of the main topics of the talks was the normalization of the situation in Cambodia. As you know, Vietnam has already withdrawn a significant part of its force, which has been rendering aid to the Cambodian people in repulsing armed interference. In the opinion of Vietnamese leaders, an international conference on Cambodia, with the participation of the USSR, the United States, PRC, and India, could be the next step following the

withdrawal of troops from Cambodia. In any case, real preconditions have been created in South Asia for the successful solution of the Cambodian problem.

Shevardnadze Receives Indian Ambassador
LD2701132489 Moscow TASS in English 1306 GMT
27 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 27 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze received today Triloki Nath Kaul, Indian ambassador to the USSR, at his request. They discussed a number of questions connected with Soviet-Indian cooperation.

The sides expressed mutual satisfaction over the strengthening cooperation of the two countries in the tackling of key international problems on the basis of the Delhi Declaration and agreements reached during the meeting of Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi. The conversation was held in the atmosphere of complete trust, openness and benevolence which are typical of Soviet-Indian meetings.

Aquino, Thai Minister Discuss Expanded Ties
HK3001064589 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines
1300 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] In Manila, President Corazon Aquino held a meeting with visiting Thai Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan. According to reports of news agencies, both sides discussed issues on expanding economic ties. For the past 2 years, Philippine and Thai trade relations have improved greatly. During the talks, the Philippines showed particular interest in expanding cooperation in the tourism industry. Jose Antonio Gonzales, tourism secretary, will be visiting Thailand to learn about their experience in international tourism. Issues on cooperation in the different business fields were also discussed.

The Philippines and Thailand will encourage one of the Khmer opposition leaders, Prince Sihanouk, to oppose the boycott of the informal meeting that seeks to find a solution to the Cambodian problem. Foreign Affairs Secretary Raul Manglapus last Friday issued this statement after the meeting of President Aquino and Thai Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan.

Soviet and Philippine parliamentarians agreed to develop mutual relations. This was stated in a report about the result of the Soviet delegation's recent visit to the Philippines. During the meetings held with the Philippine Congress, both sides stressed that the relations between the two countries are based on the principles of noninterference in each other's internal affairs, i.e. equality and mutual respect. While they discussed the situation in the Asia-Pacific region, the parliamentarians agreed that reduction of military warfare and improvement of relations between the countries in the area will ameliorate the world situation.

Philippine Foreign Minister's Speech Analyzed
HK2801061789 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines
1300 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Report by Radio Moscow correspondent Anatoliy Aleksandrov on foreign policy speech by Philippine Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus]

[Text] First of all, the secretary's announcement of his forthcoming visit to Moscow attracted much attention. The visit is to take place during the next few months, and is designed to prepare for the official visit of President Corazon Aquino to the Soviet Union.

The visit was decided upon during a visit to Manila by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. In his Malacanang speech Shevardnadze said: Policies should lead to better understanding and cooperation among people in order to achieve progress for the people as well as for the world in general.

Finally, this is the road taken by the Soviet Union and the Philippines, as can be seen in the frequent contacts, higher level of dialogue, and important issues raised during talks. Views are exchanged at the highest level, visits are organized for government and public officials and businessmen, relations between the two countries' parliaments have been restored, and friendship societies have resumed their activities.

For instance, a delegation from the USSR Supreme Soviet recently concluded a visit to the Philippines. According to President Corazon Aquino the delegation's visit, like that of Eduard Shevardnadze, testified to the improving relations between the two countries.

Meanwhile, the Philippine foreign secretary is not the only person planning a visit to Moscow. Jose Concepcion, secretary of trade and industry, will also visit Moscow in April. There is great potential for trade between the two countries. However, bilateral trade at present remains weak, and total trade volume stands at a mere \$30 million.

The Philippine position on this issue was pronounced by Senator Leticia Shahani, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. She said: The Philippines should not limit its foreign policy and economic relations to traditional partners. It is time to expand our horizons by actively including socialist countries.

In light of these changes, in Manila's view, the recent speech to diplomats by Raul Manglapus outlined Philippine foreign policy. The foreign secretary himself described the policy as pluralistic.

In their initial commentaries, political observers stressed that the secretary's policy speech was an important sign of the country's move away from its singular orientation toward the United States. In fact THE WASHINGTON

POST had earlier emphasized that the Philippines is implementing a new foreign policy which is more independent of the United States and geared towards a non-aligned orientation.

What are the reasons behind these changes?

In my opinion these changes show that Manila has reassessed its foreign policy and decided to depart from the old guidelines. For several decades the Philippines was closely tied to the helm of U.S. foreign policy. Such dependence was brought about by the presence of enormous U.S. interests in the Philippines over many decades. U.S. investment in the country stands at \$2 billion. Then there are the U.S. military bases, which represent the Pentagon's largest facilities outside the United States. It should be noted that the size of these bases are indications of their importance. The locations of Subic Bay and Clark Field are also of vital significance to the United States, as they are situated between two vast oceans.

At present, the Philippine Government seems to be looking at these facilities in a new light. Previously, Raul Manglapus had repeatedly stated that the military bases were necessary as part of U.S. world strategy and not for the defense of the Philippines, because the latter faces no external threats. The secretary is now saying that the U.S. military bases on Philippine territory should be closed down. Whatever future developments there may be, Manglapus emphasized: We are preparing to eventually return the American military facilities to civilian use.

His position is supported by other ASEAN countries. In an interview with the MANILA CHRONICLE, Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew said that the governments of the ASEAN countries are prepared for the removal of U.S. military bases in the Philippines in the near future.

There are still 2 and 1/2 years left before the leases for the military bases run out. As that day nears, opposition to the bases becomes more active, as illustrated by a recent march to the sites of the U.S. military bases. The demonstrators demanded the withdrawal of all foreign military bases in the Asia-Pacific region. The same appeal was contained in the Soviet Union's proposal to the United States calling for mutual withdrawal of military bases from the Philippines and the Soviet Navy's material and technical station at Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam.

In his policy speech, Raul Manglapus spoke of his firm belief that American troops would eventually be pulled out from Southeast Asia.

World Peace Process Extends to Far East Region
OW2601000789 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0600 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Korolev commentary]

[Text] Listeners: People throughout the world are satisfied with the results achieved by countries attending the

Vienna Conference on European Security and Cooperation. The meeting has greatly hastened the realization of European countries' plans for establishing an all-European community. However, the Vienna meeting is not the only turning point in Europe. The process, which started in Helsinki, has already spread to other parts of the world, including the Asia-Pacific region. In this connection, station commentator Korolev writes:

Indeed, could we (?friendly) discuss the good, positive phenomena we can now witness with our own eyes in the Asia-Pacific region not too long ago? Of course not. [as heard] Today, such phenomena have indeed appeared—and are still appearing—in that region. Like people in Europe, people in Asia and its contiguous areas are approaching many problems with a new attitude. In Asia, people have become increasingly aware of the need to settle this or that problem, mediate conflicts, and establish good-neighborly relations through negotiations.

Because of disputes over border areas, Laos and Thailand had long been enemies. There were even armed conflicts between the two countries. However, new thinking has now prevailed. Both countries are now sitting down to negotiate. Today we can say with ample proof that peaceful cooperation will be established between these two Indochinese countries.

Another example is, in the past few days, senior Vietnamese and Chinese diplomats have been meeting in Beijing for the first time after a long period of interruption of relations. Both sides have discussed issues concerning normalization of relations between Vietnam and China, as well as the situation around Cambodia. We now can say with ample proof that the process of settling one of the most complex regional conflicts caused by the Cambodian issue will soon be accomplished.

The large numbers of armed forces and weapons, including nuclear weapons, that have been amassed in the Asia-Pacific region certainly will impede the positive process. In the current situation, the Soviet Union has decided to reduce 200,000 troops of its ground, air, and naval forces in the East. The number of Soviet troops stationed in Mongolia will be reduced by 75 percent. [Words indistinct] should also be seen in the Asia-Pacific region as in Europe.

Near East & South Asia

Shevardnadze To Visit Pakistan 4-5 February
LD2901124989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1100 GMT 29 Jan 89

[Text] Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze will make a brief working visit to Pakistan on 4-5 February.

Yazov on 'Working Visit' to Kabul 27-28 January

Meets With Najibullah

LD2701152589 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1515 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Kabul, 27 Jan (TASS)—Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, arrived here today on a working visit.

On the same day, Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, received Army General D.T. Yazov. Problems of mutual interest were discussed during the meeting.

'Unity of Opinions' Noted

LD2801160489 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1536 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] Kabul, 28 Jan (TASS)—Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense, was on a working visit to the Republic of Afghanistan on 27-28 January.

He met with Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan and general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, and leaders of certain Afghan ministries and departments.

During the conversations, they confirmed the unity of opinions in connection with the completion of the withdrawal from Afghanistan of the limited Soviet troop contingent, and likewise with respect to a number of other political, military, and economic questions. The practical results that have been achieved in these spheres were noted and ways to act further in the immediate future and in the longer term were agreed on.

Maslyukov, Delegation Talk With Afghan Leaders

LD2901173189 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1559 GMT 29 Jan 89

[Text] Kabul, 29 Jan (TASS)—A Soviet delegation led by Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of USSR Council of Ministers, arrived in Kabul today on a working visit.

The other members of the delegation are USSR Finance Minister B.I. Gostev and USSR Minister of Foreign Economic Relations K.F. Katushev.

In the afternoon the delegation was received by the president of the Republic, Najibullah. During a friendly conversation, a wide range of questions concerning Soviet-Afghan economic, trade, and financial relations was discussed. The Soviet side confirmed its willingness to

continue giving necessary support to the Afghan leadership in developing the national economy and improving the living conditions of the Afghan population.

The importance of the assistance the Soviet Union is providing by supplying food, fuel, and necessities to the population of Kabul and other towns, and in thwarting the opposition's plans to establish an economic blockade of the capital, was particularly stressed. There was also a conversation with S.A. Keshtmand and N.M. Mohmand, members of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo and secretaries of the Central Committee.

There were also meetings with M.H. Sharq, prime minister of the Republic of Afghanistan, and members of the Afghan Government today. Specific issues of Soviet-Afghan cooperation were discussed, particularly in the sphere of ensuring the provision of goods vitally needed by the population and the broader use of opportunities for private enterprise in the sphere of reciprocal trade and development of the Republic of Afghanistan's national industries. There was also an exchange of opinions concerning the Soviet Union's participation within the framework of UN programs to render humanitarian and economic aid to Afghanistan, and on issues of constructive cooperation with S. Agha Khan, special coordinator for these programs.

U.S. Diplomats To Leave Kabul Under 'Pretext'

LD2701124489 Moscow World Service in English
1200 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] The president of Afghanistan, Dr Najibullah, has invited the United Nations' Secretary General Perez de Cuellar to visit Kabul. In his letter he draws attention to the United Nations' responsibility for compliance with the Geneva accords on an Afghan settlement.

Radio Moscow correspondents report that the situation in Afghanistan is extremely tense. The armed opposition makes no secret of its intention to start a decisive offensive after the Soviet troops leave the country. If those men seize power Afghanistan would be thrown many decades back in its development and will plunge into the chaos of the Middle Ages. Soviet journalists were told that by the chairman of the Afghan Writers Association Dr 'Abdul Nahiye. A despotic regime would be set up based on religious fanaticism and intolerance.

The Western powers are also adding fuel to the fire. For instance, the U.S. State Department has ordered all American diplomats to leave Kabul. This is being done under the pretext of fearing for their safety.

Afghan Statement Issued on Western Evacuations

LD2701181389 Moscow TASS in English 1806 GMT
27 Jan 89

[Text] Kabul January 27 TASS—The Afghan Foreign Ministry regards the decision of a number of Western countries to evacuate the personnel of their diplomatic missions from Kabul as a new stage in the escalation of propaganda war against Afghanistan.

A statement issued by a spokesman for the ministry and circulated here, points out that assertions about a certain danger to foreign embassies after the withdrawal of Soviet troops is completely unfounded. It is a matter of common knowledge that the Armed Forces of the Republic of Afghanistan successfully defend cities and provinces from which Soviet troops have already withdrawn. Therefore decisions by Western countries cannot be viewed otherwise than an attempt at undermining the trust of the international public in the government's ability to defend the city against extremists from among the intransigent opposition.

Report Circulated on Opposition Leader's Stand
*LD2701213989 Moscow TASS in English 2110 GMT
27 Jan 89*

[Text] Kabul January 27 TASS—The office of the Afghan president circulated on January 27 a report which pointed out that the state authorities had exerted for a long time efforts to establish contacts with Ahmad Shah Mas'ud, well-known leader of the Afghan opposition. The report quotes two messages sent to Ahmad Shah Mas'ud by Afghan President Najibullah as evidence of goodwill of the country's leadership.

"After the Geneva accords were concluded," the messages pointed out, "the time came for joint actions in the name of peace, quietude and rescue of our countrymen. Responsibility for ensuring peace and security in the country is not a prerogative of the government. This is a concern of every man and every organization in Afghanistan. Putting aside differences, now we should settle disputes not by weapons but by talks and jirgahs, as our forefathers did."

In this connection President Najibullah proposed that a meeting between representatives of the two sides be held in a place acceptable for both of them. He also expressed readiness to meet Ahmad Shah Mas'ud personally for the sake of restoring peace in Afghanistan.

Far from giving a positive reply to the two messages, Mas'ud's detachments, as it is pointed in communiques of the Afghan military command, continued setting fire to private and state-owned motor vehicles and killing drivers and passengers of buses travelling along the Salang highway.

The inhuman actions by Ahmad Shah Mas'ud, which run counter to national interests, the commentary of the BAKHTAR news agency says, proved beyond any doubt that the opposition was not content with rocketing cities and villages. It wants to starve people to death. Despite the fact that Ahmad Shah Mas'ud was repeatedly warned of the responsibility for these actions and the fact that some of his armed groups established contacts with the Afghan Government, he did not respond to the call for peace and continued his terrorist activities.

It is self-evident that the Government of the Afghan Republic could not remain indifferent any more to this position of Ahmad Shah Mas'ud. It was forced to give orders to its Armed Forces to liberate areas adjacent to the Salang highway from murderers and robbers. The responsibility for the bloodshed and destruction there fully rests with Ahmad Shah Mas'ud, points out the agency.

Afghan Army, Opposition Clashes Continue
*LD2801130889 Moscow TASS in English 1255 GMT
28 Jan 89*

[Text] Kabul January 28 TASS—Afghan Government troops carry on a large-scale combat operation in areas adjacent to the motor road running through the Salang pass. Dozens of extremists from the Ahmad Shah Mas'ud armed formations were killed in the past 24 hours and several fortified positions were seized.

One more column with goods for the population arrived in Kabul, BAKHTAR news agency reported. Trucks delivered 550 tons of wheat and 1,000 tons of petroleum products to the city. As the column of trucks was moving toward Kabul, rebels staged an attack on it and plundered five vehicles.

Combat operations were conducted in Kabul, Nangarhar, and Qandahar Provinces. Afghan artillery and aviation strikes caused serious losses to the enemy. In Pagman District, Kabul Province, security men discovered and rendered harmless six rockets which were prepared to be fired at the city. Opponents again fired land-to-land missiles at Kabul from other areas adjacent to the city, killing a 12-year-old child and causing destruction. Several rockets hit Sorubi, a district center of the same province, causing no casualties but destroying the building of a school.

Rebels also fired rockets at security posts around the city of Qandahar, injuring three Afghan servicemen.

The 197th note of the Afghan Foreign Ministry was handed over to the U.N. observer mission on Friday. The document lists the latest 13 cases of the violation by the Pakistani side of the Geneva agreements.

Fighting Near Soviet Border
*LD3001094189 Moscow TASS in English 0902 GMT
30 Jan 89*

[Text] Kabul January 30 TASS—Combat operations are going on in areas adjacent to the Kabul-Soviet border road by which the bulk of food and oil products is delivered to the Afghan capital.

The BAKHTAR news agency reports that another several depots of arms and ammunition, set up by members of opposition groups led by Ahmad Shah Mas'ud, were destroyed on Sunday. Afghan servicemen seized a large amount of property amassed by the insurgents through

robbery on the road. Refrigerators, television sets, household electrical appliances, carpets and building materials will be returned to their legitimate owners.

BAKHAR points out that at a time when the residents of Kabul and other cities suffer from a shortage of food, extremists kept many tons of flour, wheat, rice, sugar and vegetable oil at depots along the road. They had amassed the foodstuffs by robbing caravans.

A 25-member opposition group went over to the government side in Qandahar Province. The group's commander Jalaluddin stated an end to the armed fight against the authorities and voiced readiness to join the forces which ensure security in Panjvai District.

The 200th note of the Afghan Foreign Ministry was handed over to the U.N. Good Offices Mission for Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP). The note reports new instances of the delivery of arms from Pakistan into Afghanistan for opposition groups.

Pakistani authorities in every way prevent Afghan refugees from returning home. According to reports reaching here, tens of people were injured as a result of the recent clash between Afghans from Muslem-Bag camp and Pakistani border militia.

Kabul Situation, Political Scene Viewed

PM2701191989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
28 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

["Roundup" prepared by Yevg. Bay in Moscow and O. Kuzmin in Kabul under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "Kabul Withstanding Siege Despite the Fact That the Armed Opposition Is Intensifying Its Pressure on the Afghan Capital"]

[Text] According to an announcement from the presidential press office released by BAKHTAR, Afghan President Najibullah has sent UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar a letter inviting him to visit Afghanistan and the other countries engaged in settling the situation surrounding Afghanistan in the near future.

A representative of the UN secretary general has reported that the Aga Khan, coordinator of the UN Afghan Aid Program, is presently holding talks with representatives of the Afghan armed opposition on the problem of food aid to Kabul.

The situation in the Afghan capital remains tense. AP and REUTER, citing an American official, report that U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker has ordered the closure of the embassy and the departure of all American diplomats from Kabul "in view of the growing instability" in the Afghan capital. The agencies note that this is the newly appointed secretary of state's first major foreign policy decision.

Prior to this Washington had urged all American citizens in Afghanistan to leave the country. The personnel at the FRG Embassy was considerably cut last week, and the staff at the French Consulate in Kabul was reduced to two on Thursday.

Many of the world's television networks are currently sending direct reports out of the Kabul capital. According to an anchorperson on a British ITV channel, the lives of the Afghan capital's 2 million inhabitants now basically depend on supplies of foodstuffs from the Soviet Union. "Food has become a political problem in Afghanistan," a commentator on the channel observed.

West Germany's ZDF broadcast a report by its own correspondent who accompanied one of the armed opposition detachments operating near Kabul. According to the detachment leader, the opposition "intends to blockade Kabul and force the government to surrender under the threat of famine."

"Right up until yesterday the Afghan capital had no gasoline or fuel which the inhabitants use to heat their homes," a TASS correspondent informed the editorial office by telephone from Kabul. "Traffic has now resumed, albeit with delays, along the Kabul-Hayraton highway, despite the fighting in the Salang region. Beginning early in the morning an enormous number of people congregate at gasoline pumps in the Afghan capital, and cars form up in rows of three. At the same time the free handout of flour from army warehouses continues, but there is not enough for everyone. Soviet aid has also led to a certain fall in flour prices in local stores. Even 3 days ago 7 kilos of flour cost 1300 afghanis; now the price has fallen to 600 afghanis. Our country is doing all it can to ensure that the city continues to survive, but the situation is very grave."

The latest reports from Pakistan indicate that conflict over the question of the country's future government continues to grow in the armed opposition camp. S. Mujadeddi, who presently heads the Peshawar "Alliance of Seven", has stated that the three moderate parties in it will reject a provisional government headed by Muslim fundamentalists. If, as the FINANCIAL TIMES comments, the opposition leaders yield to the combined pressure of Pakistan, Iran, and Saudi Arabia—which are talking about the need to make certain concessions—at least 12 representatives of the present Kabul administration will be in the government. The newspaper observes that the Pakistan Foreign Ministry and two of the "Alliance" parties have also proposed that a number of high-ranking nonparty members of the Kabul government be members of the provisional government.

Seeking to draft a common platform, a delegation of the "Alliance of Seven" headed by G. Hikmatyar has arrived in Tehran for talks with the Afghan opposition based in Iran on the question of the "form and structure" of an Islamic government, REUTER reports from Nicosia.

The Shi'ite groupings in Iran are being offered 60 seats in the "shura," the consultative council which will elect the provisional government, although they are insisting on a 120-seat representation.

Analyzing the contradictions among the main Afghan opposition groupings, Britain's THE GUARDIAN writes: "The seven-party alliance, which represents the Sunni Muslim majority in Afghanistan, had no significant contacts with the Iran-based Shi'ite groupings prior to the trips to Islamabad and Tehran by Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister and ambassador to Afghanistan. However, despite reciprocal statements of solidarity, the contradictions among them regarding the allocation of seats on the hypothetical consultative council have again begun to show themselves." Reporting the visit by "Alliance of Seven" leaders to Iran to settle the conflict, the newspaper notes that disagreements between the "moderates" and the "fundamentalists" persist on two questions: the inclusion of PDPA representatives in the future government; and the possibility of extending an invitation to former Afghan King Zahir Shah." In this context, another newspaper, THE INDEPENDENT, notes that "it is precisely thanks to the diplomatic efforts of Yu.M. Vorontsov, who is seeking to create a representative government involving the PDPA, that a rapprochement of the two basic groupings of resistance forces has come about."

Simultaneously with its diplomatic efforts, the Soviet Union continues to meet its commitments under the Geneva accords, which include the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan by 15 February this year, G.I. Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, noted at a Moscow briefing.

Opposition's Mujaddedi Cited

LD2901184989 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1500 GMT 29 Jan 89

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by Igor Kudrin, with correspondent Mikhail Leshchinskiy]

[Text] [Kudrin] An epoch of peace for long-suffering Afghanistan—this rings, perhaps, too loud. One might wish that mere silence and tranquility would be established there at last. What is happening there today? I have contacted our correspondent Mikhail Leshchinskiy. Hello, Mikhail Borisovich, I am glad to see and hear you!

[Leshchinskiy] Good day!

[Kudrin] We are all interested, of course, to know what the situation in Kabul is. We know that certain difficulties have arisen there with food and fuel supplies. If we are to believe the Western mass media, the city is virtually on the eve of catastrophe. So how is life in Kabul today?

[Leshchinskiy] I must tell you, of course, that the overall impression made by Kabul during these winter days is, to be blunt, on the gloomy side. In the first place, unusually cold weather prevails. At night the temperature drops to 25 degrees below zero, and even during the daytime it remains below zero, in spite of the almost constant bright sun. This, and of course the economic blockade of Kabul which the opposition forces have decided to undertake this winter, makes life for the population considerably more difficult. Delays have arisen with fuel supplies, and major delays have arisen with the supply of flour.

In recent weeks long lines have formed on the city streets beginning early in the morning, but a tangible breakthrough occurred in the situation from the moment the Soviet Government decided to send urgent aid, and now an air lift has been set up by which the mighty IL-76's deliver flour to Kabul on a daily basis. It is planned to deliver 3,500 tonnes in all. In the view of specialists, this quantity of flour is quite sufficient to maintain normal life in the city and, of course, thereby to thwart the plans of the opposition for an economic blockade of the city, by which they wanted to smother, in the literal sense of the word, the Kabul regime.

[Kudrin] Mikhail Borisovich, the question automatically occurs to me: Isn't there guilt over miscalculations on the part of the local municipal authorities for the situation that has come about?

[Leshchinskiy] Well, I would go even further than that. It is not just the municipal authorities. In northern Afghanistan, near the Soviet border, large stocks of food and fuel have accumulated; moreover, they were brought in, in accordance with our bilateral agreements, on time. All of this could have and, of course, should have been transported to Kabul on time, that is in the summer, when there was not a serious situation on the mountain stretches of the road or such vigorous armed attacks by the opposition, but this did not occur. I perceive in this not only, so to speak, a kind of complacency or failure; there is perhaps a criminal design too. It is not without cause that, on the special instructions of President Najibullah, an extraordinary commission has now been set up which is engaged precisely in investigating both of these—let us be blunt—acts of sabotage, as well as other negative phenomena, such as speculation in flour and fuel.

[Kudrin] I know that you were recently in Pakistan and that you spoke to some of the leaders of the so-called "Peshawar Seven."

[Leshchinskiy] We managed to meet the current leader of the Alliance of Seven, Professor Mujaddedi. We must be realists, he told me. If the causes of the problem are not removed, peace will never ensue. At the present time there are two causes for all the problems that arise in Afghanistan, for which the people suffer. These are: the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, and the regime,

which is unacceptable to the Afghan people. Until that regime is overthrown, the Afghan people will not accept any cease-fire, Mujaddedi continued. We do not want to kill our own people, but we have to defend our country, we have to fight for its liberation. Our country was seized, and as long as this puppet regime remains in power, the bloodshed will continue. That's the position of the Alliance of Seven.

I have to tell you that in the course of this meeting with Professor Mujaddedi I could not agree with him, of course, on many points, even in this, naturally, because it is absurd. He says there can be no cease-fire while the Soviet Army is in Afghanistan. Let us grant him that, but it is literally a matter of weeks until the Soviet Army is no longer in Afghanistan, and the whole world knows this, including, of course, those in Pakistan. So why carry on firing? He alleges that the Afghan people will not accept the current regime in Kabul. Very well, a proposal has been made—go ahead, form a new broad-based coalition government, no one is insisting on retaining the Afghan Government and the regime as a whole in their present form. Go ahead, why must it be only by force of arms? Why kill people?

I think there are factors here of much greater force than common sense and logic. It seems to me that the war, nevertheless, is advantageous to many people, and its continuation is also advantageous. How many dollars, marks, and pounds have migrated, so to speak, over these 10 years from the banks of the Western countries into the pockets of those same leaders of the Alliance of Seven? I think that herein lies the correct, true explanation of their position.

[Kudrin] I read somewhere that in that same interview the professor stated to you that he intends to be in Kabul at the end of February. If that is so, in what role does he intend to be there?

[Leshchinskiy] He told me that he intends to be in Kabul in the role a homeowner. He has a villa in Kabul which he misses, as he said. At the end of the same interview he told me that we will travel to Moscow to continue the talks. This nuance, so to speak, is curious.

[Kudrin] Thank you very much, all the best. I wish you success.

[Leshchinskiy] All the best, goodbye, until we meet on the air again, as we say. [video shows Kudrin in studio speaking to Leshchinskiy on video monitor, with brief clips of film showing Kabul in cold weather, and of Leshchinskiy interview with Mujaddedi]

'Anxious Winter' Ahead

PM2801175389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 28 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[Dispatch by APN correspondents V. Generalov and R. Nadezhdin: "An Anxious Winter in Kabul Is How the Inhabitants of Afghanistan See the Future"]

[Text] Kabul—The snow-covered peaks surrounding the Afghan capital had just been dazzlingly gleaming

beneath the brilliant sun and the air had warmed to the heat of a summer's day. But in an instant it all changed: The sky was filled with storm clouds and sleet pelted down on the city, APN correspondents in Kabul report to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

"We'll get this for several days now," said our chauffeur Karim, who was to drive us to the airport.

Such are the vagaries of the Kabul winter. And we had to fly to Mazar-e Sharif, in the north of Afghanistan. But that was a minor problem. The real problem is that such weather greatly complicates the already difficult life of the Afghan capital. If snow is falling on Kabul, it is also piling up in the Salang area. This means that not only the air route is closed to people and freight, but the road through the Salang pass—the most important artery along which Kabul is supplied with goods and foodstuffs from the north—is also cut off.

In recent months prices in Kabul, not to mention other cities, have risen sharply. Our old acquaintance 'Abdul Akhad, a gasoline-pump attendant, complains that it has become very difficult to feed his family. His family, like that of most Afghans, is rather large—eight children. A loaf of bread from the state bakery, which just 6 months ago cost 10 afghanis, now sells for 40. Moreover, one has to stand in a long line to get it. The price of a flat dough cake baked by private individuals has risen from 6 to 12 afghanis. The cost of a kilogram of beef has gone up to 500 afghanis and mutton to 700 afghanis. The price of flour, butter, and rice has doubled. The rise in prices, however, is not completely due to the bad weather. The cause is the 10-year war—the senseless, fratricidal war which has flared up with renewed force since 15 August, when half the limited contingent of Soviet troops were withdrawn from Afghanistan. True, there is now less shelling of the Afghan capital, which was intense during October-November of last year, and missile strikes on opposition camps have clearly had an influence here. But the opposition's armed operations in the provinces of Qandahar, Nangarhar, and Herat have been stepped up.

Some provinces are in opposition hands. It transpires, however, that ousting the local organs of power by force of arms does not yet mean taking power. After all, to do that one has to run the province' economy and implement social measures. Instead the various opposition groupings have, as expected, begun waging an interne-cine struggle. In Konarha Province, for example, which has been seized by the opposition, clashes to take sole power in the province continue between the opposition's ringleaders—Mawlawi Afzal ("Islamic Union for the Liberation of Afghanistan") and 'Abdullah ("Islamic Party of Afghanistan"). The enmity began over the division of spoils after the capture of Barikowt District, where the two groupings were involved.

Experience has shown that armed operations merely increase unjustified casualties and complicate the situation in the country, but have not given and do not give

advantages to any of the belligerents. Despite certain successes by the opposition forces, the military balance has been maintained on the whole. Whereas government troops control the most important strategic centers of Afghanistan, a considerable proportion of the country's territory is nonetheless in opposition hands. It is a complex and confused situation in which it is difficult to predict the future.

But how does it appear to the Afghans themselves? One can hear the most polarized opinions, judgments, and forecasts on this score. On one issue, however, everyone agrees—it is difficult to count on the opposition accepting the government's peace proposals. This was shown by its reaction to the initiatives of the Afghan and Soviet leadership aimed at bringing about a very rapid political settlement of the situation in and around Afghanistan.

"I was pleased by Mikhail Gorbachev's decision to withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan," Kabul trader Faiz Ahkram told us. "But the Soviet Union should reconcile the various political forces before it leaves, in my view. I know that this is the objective pursued by the contacts between Yuliy Vorontsov, Soviet ambassador to Afghanistan, and opposition representatives. But if it is not attained, a real bloodbath could take place in the country. And whoever wins, ordinary people will suffer."

"When people say that the opposition is eager for power," militia Captain 'Asadullah said, "they lump all the opposition people together, as it were. Yet they are very diverse: There are those based in Pakistan, those in Iran, not to mention those dubbed 'field commanders,' who operate in Afghanistan itself. Each of them is 'toeing its own line,' so to speak. There is no unity at all in their camp. Moreover, particularly of late there has been a real war going on among the armed formations of the various groupings."

When one talks with PDPA members one appreciates that party members are ready to fight and uphold the ideals of the April revolution. They are not so small in number—more than 200,000. This is what one of them, Gulyam Nahi, an ordinary party functionary, thinks.

"We will not," he said, "sit back idly and wait like sheep until they cut our throats. If you calculate that on average a party member's family has 4 people in it and multiply that by 200,000, you get 800,000 people. Those people will fight to the last. Therefore those who predict a quick opposition victory are very mistaken."

One would do well to grasp the situation in the bazaar. The bazaar in Afghanistan, as in the East as a whole, absorbs, digests, and produces the latest information.

We recently had a noteworthy discussion at a stall. Seeing that the stallholder was wearing a Pashtun cap, we asked him where they were sold.

"In Peshawar, at Gulbuddin's," he answered.

"When you are there, would you buy each of us one?" we asked.

"Why? He will soon be coming here and you can ask him yourselves," the stallholder said and smiled.

"You are really sure that Gulbuddin will win?"

"I, in any event, would not want that," he answered, becoming serious.

Commentators on Emerging Afghan Situation

Fadeyev on Western 'Propaganda'

LD2801113389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Discussion between correspondent Vladimir Bezyayev and foreign policy commentator Vladimir Fadeyev in the studio—live or recorded]

[Text] [Bezyayev] I want to draw our listeners' attention to the Afghan problem. Today is a memorable date in the history of our relations with that country—35 years since the first agreement on economic and technical cooperation. The situation in Afghanistan is currently such that there is no time to celebrate this anniversary, but the main thing about this remarkable landmark is that this treaty initiated all subsequent treaties that are in force to this very day. The treaty is undergoing a difficult test in the tense military-political situation, and, most importantly, is helping the Kabul people to withstand war, hunger, and cold. But we will come to that a bit later. In the meantime, let's look at another facet of the Afghan problem, which is being created—or rather composed—both in the pages of the Western press and on various radios. I am referring to the widespread campaign that has been plotted by Western propaganda before the concluding stage of our troop withdrawal from Afghanistan.

This campaign boils down to attempts to give the opinion that Soviet troops, before leaving, are allegedly striving to achieve the maximum possible military successes and are delivering bomb strikes against rebel concentrations. The Voice of America recently reported that Soviet soldiers—calling them, incidentally, occupiers—are laying new mines everywhere, instead of removing old mines, and that this greatly complicates the task of rehabilitating the country. I will ask Vladimir Fadeyev, foreign policy commentator, to express his opinion on these statements:

[Fadeyev] I want to stress one fact that caught my eye: On the same day that the Voice of America tossed that commentary on the air, with a reference to it reflecting the government's view, the station's colleagues on the German wave reported that the mujahidin had intensified the blockade of Kabul in order to capture the city of Eshmorgh, and that Soviet aircraft were continuously

delivering food to the people in the Afghan capital. Just two lines later it was mentioned that the chaos in particular areas of the country was due to strife between opposition groups.

That is what two radio stations, different in name but identical in aims and operational methods, observed over the past days in Afghanistan. You know, the ancients were very correct when they coined the wise dictum: The result depends on the viewpoint.

It would now be appropriate to recall that Washington began to observe events in Afghanistan with a special but far from impartial viewpoint about a decade ago, when the preconditions emerged for the formation of another progressive system in Asia. The support from our country for the new regime in Kabul immediately gave the campaign in the West a sharply anti-Soviet character. How many committees, councils, funds, and organizations emerged over these years! I think there have been at least 50, and they have made it their official goal to aid in every possible way the so-called fighters for the faith. But they placed the green banner of struggle in the hands of Afghans, who were often deceived, to fight against the unfaithful—that is the Soviets and communists, the government—although the PDPA program does not resemble that of any known communist party.

[Bezyayev] Taking into account your experience and the years you spent in Kabul, let us recall other so-called facts in that campaign.

[Fadeyev] Yes, those organizations dragged out, from time to time, so-called witnesses of our use of chemical weapons in Afghanistan, and so-called victims of a Soviet policy of genocide. It was not particularly important to those who directed the activities of all those committees that these and similar propaganda campaigns burst like soap bubbles. However they had some impact, all the same, the same way the distorted coverage of the undeclared war affected the minds of local inhabitants. All that did happen, and somehow it worked. But times have changed. And then we had Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev announcing the withdrawal of our troops from Afghanistan, and, eventually, the Geneva accords.

Oh, this did not fit in with the plans of the organizers of the anti-Afghan and anti-Soviet campaign! It seems they still have not, even today, gotten over the shock of our foreign policy steps. In any case, the example of Afghanistan demonstrates how difficult it is for them now, on the one hand, to come to terms with the new political thinking in our country, and, on the other, to distort these events in and around Afghanistan. I want to stress that today, when it is a matter of days before the withdrawal of our troops, some people in the West want very much to cast aspersions on our Army. Western journalists report from Kabul that our soldiers are giving out flour and kerosene to the population free of charge in these difficult days, when the delivery of food and fuel

via Salang has been made more difficult. Pilots are delivering daily, despite extremely difficult weather conditions, hundreds of tonnes of flour to somehow save the situation, to improve the life of nearly 2 million people. Some people in the West see even this as interference by us in Afghan domestic affairs.

Individual leaders of the extremist groups are attempting an economic blockade of Kabul and other cities. They want cold and hunger as revenge on the civilian population. They are trying to halt convoys with national economic freight. Our soldiers, naturally, are having to fight. One wonders how else, by what other means, we could fulfill our commitments to Afghanistan and its people under existing treaties and agreements, including the Geneva accords!

[Bezyayev] I will interrupt you at this point. When some of our troops left Afghanistan last May, they told me that the dates on captured materiel were much later than the Geneva accords.

[Fadeyev] By the way, Vladimir, I saw those dates with my own eyes when I attended the latest phase in the troop withdrawal from Afghanistan. Let me just say something in passing about the Geneva accords. Now, when it is clear that we have remained true to our word and to the commitments we assumed under the Geneva accords, some people in the West and in Islamabad are getting hysterical again because here we are about to leave, and how will they keep up the tension in and around Afghanistan? I mean that those forces are purely and simply anxious about the future, about the reason for their existence. It seems their attempts to compromise our country and Army are dictated first of all by this fear for their own future.

Hikmatyar Call 'Very Interesting'

NC2801134289 Moscow in Persian to Iran
1100 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Igor Sheftunov commentary]

[Excerpts] Dear listeners: Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, leader of one of the armed Afghan opposition groups that is a member of the seven-party alliance, stated in Tehran during his visit there that the Afghan mujahidin should be active both on the battle scene and on the political scene. Our commentator Igor Sheftunov comments on this:

As far as the war being waged by extremists in Afghanistan is concerned, it should be said that this war will not yield any results for its fomenters and organizers. The Afghan Government, which is implementing a policy of national reconciliation, has clearly indicated that if the war continues to be imposed on it in the future and if it is contrary to reason and national interests, it will react by taking up arms. [passage omitted]

If this does happen, all responsibility for the destruction of Afghanistan and for its tragedies will rest on the shoulders of those leaders of the extremist groups who are obstinately rejecting the national reconciliation policy and who are willing to sacrifice the lives of their compatriots in order to ensure their own greedy objectives, to further their extreme demands for gaining monopolistic rule, and to fulfill their own desires.

However, the extremists who count on war are finding it more and more difficult to gain the support of the Afghan opposition. The outcome of the talks that Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister and Soviet ambassador to Afghanistan, held with opposition representatives in Saudi Arabia, Italy, Iran, and Pakistan showed that the pull toward a political solution to the Afghanistan problem is becoming stronger. [passage omitted]

The fact that during his visit to Tehran Hikmatyar spoke of political methods to solve the Afghanistan problem, in addition to calling for war, is very interesting. It is hoped that a large number of those Afghan extremists who are still able to rationally assess the situation will realize that the Afghan problem can be solved only through political means. It is impossible to solve this problem through military means.

Indian Achievements, Problems Described
PM2701163189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Jan 89 First Edition p 4

[Article by own correspondent V. Baykov under the rubric "India Celebrates Republic Day": "Celebrations on the Rajpath"]

[Excerpt] Delhi, January—[Passage omitted] Looking back at the path traveled by the Republic so far, India's public and politicians always note the large role played by the Soviet Union in the development of the most important sectors of the country's economy and the creation of its viable state sector.

The results of Soviet-Indian economic cooperation are demonstrated by the following figures, for example: Enterprises built with Soviet assistance in the state sector now account for 36 percent of all steel smelted in the country, 32 percent of all aluminum, 77 percent of all metallurgical production, 47 percent of all power engineering equipment produced, and 43 percent of all mining equipment produced.

Soviet technical and economic assistance, Indian Defense Minister K.C. Pant said recently, has made a significant contribution to India's industrial progress and to ensuring its defense capability and economic independence.

The oil extraction industry is an example of this.

For decades, major Western specialists categorically stated that India's oil reserves were extremely limited and that any exploratory work was futile.

"These pessimistic prognoses have been completely overturned by Soviet specialists," Mrs R. Ramachandran, director of a department of the State Commission for Oil and Natural Gas, said in a conversation with me. "They first came here in 1955 at the invitation of our government and were able to prove that there is oil in India. Their selfless work in Gujarat, Assam, and Bihar has made it possible for India to increase its oil extraction every year. In 1988 this extraction reached 30.5 million tonnes, which allows us to go a long way toward meeting the country's demand for 'black gold.'

"I would say that Soviet assistance has been invaluable," Mrs R. Ramachandran stressed. "Just think how many billions of dollars the country saves by having its own oil reserves. But, even more important, as Jawaharlal Nehru said, is the fact that the oil is a symbol of confidence in our own strength, our industrial progress, and our economic freedom...."

Of course, India—the second largest country in the world in terms of population—still has a great many unsolved problems: There is a great abyss between the rich and the poor, the standard of living is very low, there are still vestiges of feudalism in rural areas, unemployment is still very high, and a large percentage of the population is illiterate. That is why it is so concerned with aid programs for the needy in the cities and the countryside, the creation of more and more new jobs, and the problems of vocational training and the elimination of illiteracy.

The internal political situation in the country is also complex. An intense struggle is being waged against separatists and there is religious-communal discord and terrorism, particularly in the Punjab, in the northeast of India. The next parliamentary general elections are to be held at the end of the year. Recent elections to local assemblies in three states showed that the battles between different parties and coalitions make election results hard to predict.

Plans for the country's strategic development in the nineties have been drafted. They are aimed at reducing the number of people living below the poverty line to less than 5 percent of the population by the year 2000 (the figure is currently 37 percent). The country also faces the task of ensuring almost full employment for the population, health care for all, and general elementary education through the age of 14 years.

So how realistic are these projects? India's planning commission believes that the country will have to achieve an annual growth of 6 percent in the GNP in the nineties if these aims are to be realized. An economic report published by the United Nations recently said that there was an 8-percent growth in the GNP in 1988.

The Indian people are now resolving large and complex tasks and strengthening their independent state. They still have a considerable number of difficulties to overcome, but they have clearly defined their goals.

East Europe

Slyunkov Talks With Honecker, Returns
PM2701162589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
27 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Strengthening Friendship"]

[Text] Berlin, 26 Jan—A meeting took place here today between E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, and N.N. Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who is paying a working visit to the GDR.

E. Honecker described the intensive work being carried out by the communists and working people of the GDR to implement the decisions of the 11th SED Congress and appropriately greet the 40th anniversary of the Republic's formation, which will be celebrated this year. He stressed that the report and election campaign held in the party's primary organizations convincingly demonstrated the increased political activeness of its members and their readiness to resolve the new tasks of the contemporary phase of socialist building in the GDR. The tried and tested concord between the CPSU and the SED and the close cooperation and collaboration between the USSR and the GDR, which was confirmed once again at the Moscow meeting between the leaders of the two parties and countries in September 1988, guarantee successful progress along this path. Noting that people in the GDR are following with great interest the processes of restructuring in the USSR, E. Honecker expressed support for the course of the 27th CPSU Congress and wishes for success in implementing the decisions of the congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

N.N. Slyunkov talked about the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee January (1989) Plenum, the significance of the CPSU Central Committee address "To the Party and the Soviet People" adopted there, and the election campaign that has been launched in the country to elect USSR people's deputies. He dwelt in detail on the party's practical work to renew Soviet society, deepen socialist democracy, and develop working people's sovereignty, as well as on questions of implementing the radical economic reform, its first results, and the next steps.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary conveyed the Soviet leadership's gratitude for the GDR's aid to the victims of the Armenian earthquake.

During the discussion of bilateral ties, the common opinion was voiced that the USSR and the GDR have a good potential for further deepening and improving their cooperation in the economic and scientific and technical spheres. Both countries' determination to vigorously activate this potential for the sake of their peoples and in the interests of socialism and peace on the basis of existing accords and agreements and by using progressive forms of cooperation was stressed.

The great significance of the USSR and GDR initiatives on unilateral reductions in the two states' arms and armed forces was emphasized.

The meeting took place in a cordial, comradely atmosphere. G. Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and V.I. Kochemasov, USSR ambassador to the GDR, took part in it.

On the same day a protocol was signed at the USSR Embassy in Berlin. The document notes that in light of the working meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and E. Honecker, joint proposals have been prepared regarding the deepening of USSR-GDR cooperation. The task has been set of boosting the effectiveness of collaboration in research and production by using progressive forms of direct cooperation. Both countries' planning organs, ministries, departments, associations, and combines have been told to agree on the requisite measures in the course of work to coordinate the USSR and GDR economic plans for the period 1991-1995.

The document was signed by N.N. Slyunkov and G. Mittag.

N.N. Slyunkov left for home today. He was seen off at the airport by G. Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and other officials. The send-off party included V.I. Kochemasov, USSR ambassador to the GDR.

N.N. Slyunkov was met at the airport in Moscow by V.M. Chebrikov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and O.K. Rybakov, deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department.

Yakovlev, SED's Axen Hold Consultations
LD2701223989 Moscow TASS in English 1735 GMT
27 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 27 TASS—A number of concrete issues pertaining to the state of affairs in Europe and the development of the world situation have been discussed during working consultations between the CPSU and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, which were held in Moscow on January 26-27.

The Soviet delegation was led by Politburo member, CPSU Central Committee Secretary Aleksandr Yakovlev and the GDR delegation—by Politburo member, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Hermann Axen.

The two sides expressed satisfaction with the mounting positive dynamics in the world community, which is conducive to establishment of broad mutually beneficial cooperation in Europe and other regions, construction of a nuclear-free and non-violent world, mankind's entry into really peaceful epoch.

Emphasized in this context was the significance of the decisions, announced by Mikhail Gorbachev and Erich Honecker, on unilateral reduction of troops and armaments of the USSR and the GDR, and also other relative initiatives bound to ensure a transition from superarmament to reasonable defense sufficiency.

The sides held a thorough useful exchange of opinions, linked with the successful completion of the Vienna meeting of representatives of 23 out of 35 states, parties to the all-European process. Underlined was the significance of the accords reached and also the responsibility of the forthcoming Vienna mandate negotiations for elaboration of weighty agreements, called upon to ensure safe development and mutually beneficial cooperation on the basis of the balance of interests.

The consultations were held in an atmosphere of friendship and close cooperation.

Further on Zaykov Activities in SFRY
PM2701164989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
27 Jan 89 Second Edition pp 3, 7

[TASS report: "Stay in Belgrade"]

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Jan—The working visit to the SFRY by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, continues. Today he visited the Josip Broz Tito memorial complex. A wreath was laid at the grave of this outstanding son of Yugoslavia and prominent figure in the international communist and workers movement.

He then visited the memorial cemetery of Belgrade's liberators. The remains of the Soviet and Yugoslav fighters who gave their lives to liberate Belgrade from the fascist occupiers are buried here. The capital's inhabitants and the peoples of the SFRY honor the memory of the liberating heroes whose joint feat of arms formed a glorious page in the annals of the traditional friendship between the peoples of our countries. Feelings of sincere gratitude and thankfulness give rise to the truly fraternal love and concern with which the people of Belgrade

preserve the memory of the Soviet fighters who perished alongside Yugoslav soldiers in the battle on the banks of the Sava and the Danube. A wreath was laid at the memorial cemetery.

L.N. Zaykov met with A. Bakocevic, chairman of Belgrade city assembly, who described the life and development of the SFRY capital, the problems that most worry its inhabitants, and the way they are being resolved.

The ancient city is developing rapidly. This is illustrated by the blocks of new buildings and the residential districts that have encircled the historical center of the city. Virtually a new—socialist—Belgrade has sprung up during the years of people's power. More than 200,000 of the capital's workers live there. A broad, modern boulevard bearing the name of V.I. Lenin is the main highway through this area.

When one sees the new Belgrade, one experiences delight at the scale and solid construction of this area of the city, where many questions regarding the development of the social sphere are resolved comprehensively. However, the rate at which a number of these questions are being resolved still lags behind the outlined tasks. There was a thorough discussion at the SFRY capital's city assembly concerning the reserves and capacities that the city authorities are employing to accelerate development in the social sphere.

At the request of his Yugoslav comrades, L.N. Zaykov described the Moscow city soviet's activity and the measures being taken to boost the role and responsibility of organs of people's power in resolving the most pressing problems in the life and development of the USSR's capital.

The general plan for the management of Moscow's economy, under which substantial structural changes have taken place in the management system, evoked particular interest. Seven major complexes have been set up to manage homogeneous sectors of the city's economy.

The rates of housing construction in Moscow are high and are continuing to rise. More than 9 million square meters of housing were commissioned in the first 3 years of the 5-year plan. The city's housing stock must be increased by one-third in order to provide every family with an individual apartment by the year 2000. Special attention was focused on ways to implement this large-scale program.

L.N. Zaykov talked about the measures the Moscow CPSU Gorkom and Moscow soviet are taking to improve Muscovites' food supply. Consumer goods production is being developed using internal reserves. The capital's industry is playing an important role in this sphere.

Dozens of plants, factories, and associations producing many types of goods are being modernized in order to step up this work and resolve this important social task more rapidly. Yugoslav comrades inquired about the development of the cooperative movement in the Soviet capital, the state of Muscovites' health care, upkeep of the city, problems of environmental protection, and development of Moscow's transportation system.

Many questions were asked regarding the rate of development of economically accountable relations in the Soviet capital's economy. The Yugoslav comrades were told that as of this year all Moscow's industrial enterprises have begun to work under conditions of economic accountability and self-financing.

Questions whose resolution depends on the development and deepening of cooperation between the city councils of the USSR and SFRY capitals in the interests of Muscovites and the people of Belgrade were touched on during the conversation.

The developments made by specialists from Belgrade's M. Pupin Automation, Telecommunications, and Computer Technology Institute, founded 40 years ago, in the sphere of SFRY industrialization and scientific and technical development are renowned far and wide outside Yugoslavia. The institute now has more than 1,000 staffers, many of whom are studying robotics problems.

In the course of his familiarization with the work of the institute, G. Konstantinov, the deputy director, told the Soviet guest that ties between the institute and Soviet scientific establishments go back a long way. Many leading specialists have worked on assignments in the USSR. The development of the computer sector was based on the joint development of a hybrid analog-digital computer system with the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Control Problems (Automation and Telemechanics). The Belgrade institute has elaborated other most important problems with our country's scientists in the sphere of computer technology.

Making a high assessment of the standard of the institute's developments, L.N. Zaykov held a detailed discussion with specialists on the institute's participation in creating a general plan for the development of Moscow's transportation. Scientific cooperation, he underlined, is called upon to help comprehensively resolve the Soviet capital's important social problem.

The Soviet guest visited "Galenika," the well-known Yugoslav pharmaceutical firm. Its ties with our country are developing confidently and dynamically on the basis of mutual advantage. Last year, for instance, it supplied the USSR with medical preparations worth several million rubles.

The traditional forms of partnership, however, are already in need of additional new forms. Specialists from the Yugoslav enterprise spoke about this. They

announced that "Galenika" is preparing proposals to organize joint Yugoslav-Soviet production of a number of medicines. The USSR Ministry of the Medical Industry is studying possibilities for direct ties with this firm.

L.N. Zaykov toured the production unit and talked with specialists and workers. He stressed that mutually advantageous cooperation between USSR and SFRY enterprises is developing consistently. This is particularly important in those spheres whose output is sent straight to the people.

The day's program ended with a meeting between the CPSU Central Committee secretary and the Yugoslav capital's party aktiv.

Calls for Closer Ties

LD2801024689 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 27 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Zaykov's working visit to the SFRY is continuing.

[Unidentified correspondent] Today Yugoslavia is going through a crucial stage in its social development. The economic and political crisis has led to a fall in the standard of living, price rises, strikes, mass protest meetings by the workers, and the government's resignation. At the moment the main task is to implement all the planned reforms. As the Yugoslav press has been writing in the past few days, people are tired of words: It is time to move on to concrete actions.

At Lev Nikolayevich Zaykov's meeting with the party aktiv of the Yugoslav capital, Belgrade's Communists evinced a lively interest in how economic and political reform is proceeding in our country. Replying to the questions, Comrade Zaykov spoke of how our economic mechanism is being restructured and how the Soviet political system is undergoing renewal.

During Comrade Zaykov's meeting with Stefan Korosevic, a secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, there was a discussion of the forthcoming reform of the LCY, which is likewise going through hard times at the moment.

Bureaucracy has led to the paralysis of our society, that is how Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbia LCY Central Committee, assessed the situation in his conversation with Comrade Zaykov. The Serbian Communists see their role today as ensuring that party members do their work among the people, rather than at the numerous cabinet sessions. Comrades Zaykov and Milosevic exchanged experiences on developing democracy within the party; there was also talk of the continued development of mutual cooperation between Moscow and Belgrade.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Lev Nikolayevich, you have a packed itinerary, with lots of meetings and talks. Tell me, if you can, what the main thing is that will emerge from this trip.

[Zaykov] I would say that we are not making good use of the potential that exists in our relations or of the conditions created by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to Yugoslavia last March, the conditions created for further developing economic cooperation. The workers in enterprises follow events in our country and in Moscow with great interest. I would say that we ought to bear this in mind and use it to expand our ties. This means links between collectives, between party organizations, between parties, and between our states. That is what we have to work at.

[Correspondent] Thank you.

[Zaykov] All the best. [end recording] [video shows street scenes in Yugoslavia; Zaykov addressing Belgrade party aktiv; Zaykov holding talks with Korosevic and with Milosevic]

Need for 'Open' Debate in Prague Viewed
LD2901214489 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 29 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In recent days Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia, has seen unsanctioned demonstrations which have clearly been intended as a challenge to the Government of the CSSR and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. In accordance with the country's laws, steps are being taken to restore order: Several people have been detained, which has led to quite furious commentaries in the Western press.

[Begin S. Andreyev recorded report from Prague] The ostensible reason for the wave of propaganda has been the events which have occurred here, in Wenceslas Square, and which are connected with the self-immolation of student Jan Palach 20 years ago.

Up to 2,000 or 3,000 people—mainly young people—have been gathering here in the evenings; and rallies— forbidden by the city authorities—have been started, only to be broken up by the public security bodies. Although the slogans at the rallies have been "Democratization and human rights," the aim of the participants, roused and guided by Western radio stations and frequently even paid by various foreign centers, is the same as ever: to stir things up and destabilize life in the country. But this has backfired, and the people's reaction is one of total indignation toward those who have been gathering here in the square in the evenings.

The means used in the struggle is another matter. In my opinion, here, just as in our country, the tradition of open and public political debate has largely been lost. We

have forgotten the need to be able to justify our authority through dialogue, too. I feel that if those indignant workers who are appearing at the moment in the press and on the radio and television were to turn up by the thousands at the next gathering and make everyone listen to their own spokesman—the spokesman of the workers—the water cannons would not be required. The power of logic and truth is great, and it is not on the side of those people who these days have been assembling at Wenceslas Square. [video shows normal daytime street scenes]

Hungary, S. Korea Establish Diplomatic Ties
LD2701230989 Moscow TASS in English 1741 GMT
27 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest January 27 TASS—The MTI news agency reports that a meeting of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian National Assembly, which was held here on January 27, approved a decision on establishing diplomatic relations between Hungary and South Korea at an ambassadorial [as received] level.

West Europe

Adamishin Meets UK Officials on African Issues
LD2801040989 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0005 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] London, 28 Jan (TASS)—In the context of continuing Soviet-British political consultations, Deputy Foreign Minister Adamishin exchanged views on Friday with British Foreign Office staff members engaged in problems relating to Africa. The general approaches of the two countries toward the situation on the continent were compared and the mutual desire to ensure greater stability there, find practical solutions to conflicts in Africa, and set up conditions for economic and social development on the basis of strict respect for the right to choose one's own path of development was confirmed. The sides spoke in favor of increasing the efficiency of the UN mechanism to politically settle conflicts.

The prospects for developments in southern Africa were examined in particular detail—in light of the agreements on an Angolan-Namibian settlement signed recently—as well as the situation in the Horn of Africa. In respect to this region of Africa, the need was noted for the further normalization of interstate relations according to the principles of good-neighborliness, noninterference in the internal affairs of one another, the recognition of the inviolability of existing borders, and the quest for political ways of solving internal problems.

The exchange of views brought to light a good number of points of contact in the positions of the USSR and Great Britain on the matters that were discussed.

Swedish Party Leader Comments on CPSU Ties
PM2601155589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[Report on interview with Bo Toresson, secretary of the Swedish Social Democratic Labor Party, by PRAVDA correspondent M. Kostikov in Moscow: "Bo Toresson: Let's Broaden Ties"; date not given; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] Members of a delegation from the Social Democratic Labor Party [SAP] (Sweden) headed by its secretary Bo Toresson were the guests of the CPSU Central Committee for a week. [passage omitted].

A PRAVDA correspondent met with Bo Toresson and asked him to share his impressions of his stay in our country and to answer some questions. [passage omitted].

Speaking about broadening and improving SAP-CPSU ties, Bo Toresson said:

"For our part, we are satisfied with the present level of contacts and will endeavor to broaden and deepen them. Swedish Social Democrats and Soviet Communists share common positions on such very important issues of the present day as the struggle for peace and the need to achieve real results on the path of disarmament—above all nuclear disarmament—and on the path of creating a nuclear-free and nonviolent world. The similarity in our positions on these topical political problems makes it possible to act jointly, thus exerting substantial influence on the shaping of international public opinion.

"Swedish Social Democrats have their own active stance in the Socialist International as a channel for resolving disarmament problems. The USSR and Sweden collaborate successfully within the framework of the Helsinki process and have just signed the final document of the Vienna meeting. Thus there are many more things that draw the SAP and the CPSU closer together in the interests of improving broad cooperation in today's interconnected and interdependent world than things that could divide us. On the whole I believe no problems can arise in relations between our parties as long as we respect one another and respect the choice that each party has made, and our cooperation will only grow broader and richer."

Concerning his attitude toward the Soviet program for creating a nuclear-free world by the year 2000 and eliminating nuclear weapons, and toward the USSR's latest proposals put forward by the Soviet leader at the United Nations, Bo Toresson pointed out that Sweden reacted with great optimism to these initiatives. "The USSR's proposals," he said, "are an example of the new political thinking and of restructuring in foreign policy. In effect all these proposals, and particularly the decision to reduce arms and withdraw troops, are consonant with the foreign policy line that such well known Swedish politicians as Olaf Palme and Alva Myrdal carried out.

The reduction in conventional arms and armed forces in Europe—the area with the highest concentration of such weapons—is, indisputably, an historic step. The Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which had a substantial positive effect on the overall situation in Europe, also played a tremendous role."

"In the Nordic countries," Bo Toresson said in conclusion, "one important question in Social Democrats' activity—and not only Swedish Social Democrats—is progress along the path of creating a nuclear-free zone in the region. Work is currently being carried out mainly at the parliamentary level. All aspects of this problem are still being studied and public opinion in support of the implementation of this important idea is being shaped at the same time."

Latin America & Caribbean

Gorbachev To Visit Cuba in Early April
LD2901101389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1000 GMT 29 Jan 89

[Text] In accordance with an agreement, the official friendly visit of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to Cuba, which was previously planned to take place in December 1988, will be made at the beginning of April this year.

Castro Cited on 'Worthy Peace in Angola'
LD2901105889 Moscow TASS in English 1047 GMT
29 Jan 89

[Text] Havana January 29 TASS—Last year has witnessed the achievement of a worthy peace in Angola and ensurance of the guarantees for granting independence to the much-suffering Namibian people, said Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee, president of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers of the Republic.

Speaking here on Saturday, he noted that as a result of the signing of the agreements on settling the situation in south west of Africa, about 50,000 Cuban soldiers-internationalists would return to the homeland from Angola in less than 2.5 years.

Their job placement will be our priority task. Regular military men will remain in the ranks of the Revolutionary Armed Forces and demobilized soldiers will either return to those workplaces which they left when departing to fulfil the internationalist mission, or will be provided with new jobs. We are happy not only because thousands of our compatriots will return to their families but also because young and able forces which can do a good deal for a further development of our country, to implement our large-scale plans are returning to peaceful labour.

Castro spoke at a meeting devoted to the simultaneous opening of over 50 kindergartens which were built in the Cuban capital last year. All in all, over a hundred kindergartens were built in Havana in the last two years, which allowed thousands of women to return to work. Concurrently, a large-scale construction of out-patient clinics, schools and other social facilities is under way in the capital.

All this became possible thanks to the revival of the micro-team movement. Today, it numbers 35,000 volunteer assistants of construction workers, who temporarily leave their main workplaces to take part in erecting apartment blocks and various social and consumer service establishments.

Last year, measures were taken sizably to boost the output of building materials, which is of immense importance to long-term plans of the country's advancement, Castro said. Priority will be given to building economic facilities, first and foremost, those of them which will turn out output for export. Housing construction will be among the priority directions. About 17,000 flats will be built in Cuba by 1991 as a result of the measures taken, which is three times as much as in 1986.

Ortega Wants 'Normal Relations' with U.S.
*LD3001074089 Moscow TASS in English 0733 GMT
30 Jan 89*

[Text] New York January 30 TASS—Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega gave an interview to the U.S. magazine TIME where he centred on the prospects for the development of relations with the United States. Ortega noted that he was full of desire to lay foundations for normal relations with the new American Administration.

The president noted that Nicaragua cut its Armed Forces by 10,000 men. If Washington believes that this is not enough, his country is ready to discuss possibilities for further cuts. However, it is necessary for this purpose that the USA should withdraw its military personnel from Honduras and El Salvador, noted Ortega. As for the contras, his government is ready to permit members of the armed opposition to return to the country without any conditions, said the Nicaraguan president.

Political & Social

Central Committee Proceedings Journal Published
*LD2801204489 Moscow TASS in English 1832 GMT
28 Jan 89*

[Text] Moscow January 28 TASS—The first issue of a new information journal, IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS (proceedings of the CPSU CC), is off the press here, with an address by Mikhail Gorbachev to the readers opening it.

The journal widely covers the activities of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party in the period following the 19th party conference and carries previously unpublished resolutions adopted during that time.

The contents include documents about the social, political and intellectual development of society, the radical economic reform and changes occurring in the life of the party.

To comply with numerous requests, the party Central Committee has begun publishing the biographies of the party leading cadres. The first issue features members and alternate members of the Politburo, secretaries of the Central Committee and the chairman of the party control committee at the CPSU CC.

The journal reports on the work of the party central auditing commission, the party control committee at the CPSU CC and the party's international contacts.

Much of the issue is devoted to documents of the commission of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee on additional studies of materials concerning the reprisals in the period of the 1930-1940s and the early 1950s. The documents deal with the rehabilitation of those convicted in the so-called "Right-wing Tritiskeyist block" case.

The "information and news" section centres on the enrollment of new party members, the financial results of the year and the 1989 subscription to newspapers and magazines.

A large "mailbag" section features a review of readers' letters (delegates to the 19th party conference were familiarized with that review) and also some letters which led secretaries of the CPSU CC to issue certain instructions which have already been executed.

Some new documents of Lenin are published in the "from party archives" section. A chronicle of events following the October 1917 revolution illustrates the activities of the party Central Committee during that period. Other documents in the section include M. Gorkiy's letters unpublished before.

The issue is complete with a story about the new journal's predecessor, "IZVESTIYA TSK RKP(B)" (Proceedings of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party—Bolsheviks), published in 1919-1929.

Gorbachev Foreword on 'Major Step'
*LD2801211589 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1809 GMT 28 Jan 89*

[Text] Moscow, 28 January (TASS)—The first issue of IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS [CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PROCEEDINGS], a new party journal, is being sent out to subscribers. The journal owes its birth to restructuring and the restoration of Leninist traditions of glasnost and democracy. It is also a reply to the huge interest that the public is showing in the activity of the party and its leading organs.

The journal opens with an address by M.S. Gorbachev:

To the readers of IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS:

Esteemed comrades!

The editorial council of IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS has asked me to forward the first issue of the journal with a short contribution. I do this willingly, since I attach great importance to the party's new press organ.

First of all I have to note that the decision to publish an informational journal of the Central Committee stems in its entirety from the directives of the 27th congress and the 19th all-union party conference and the course toward asserting the principles of glasnost and openness. The idea itself and the form of providing Communists and the public on a wide scale with information about the party's daily work has been taken from the experience of the Lenin years. It is then, indeed, then that the IZVESTIYA TSK RKP (B) [PROCEEDINGS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY-BOLSHEVIKS] was born.

In resuming publication of its informational journal, the Central Committee is striving to strengthen and to make more alive the link between the leadership of the party and the many million strong army of Communists and all working people who make up the main strength of restructuring. In the past, under conditions of the system of running things by command and injunction, of exclusion and secrecy in working out and making decisions, this link was seriously violated. Delegates to the party conference openly talked about this.

In my view, IZVESTIYA TSK has the task of helping the party organizations, the Communists, and the nonparty people to form an opinion about the great and complicated work of the party's highest organs in leading restructuring, and to do so intelligently, on the basis of accurate information and genuine documents. But we see the journal's most important task in the fact that it must actively shape public opinion, help the working

people to participate more widely in the elaboration and implementation of party policy, and serve the cause of the consolidation of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia in the achievement of the lofty goals of restructuring.

The importance of the new publication will also be determined by the fact that glasnost is the most effective means of public checking. It is an incentive for energetic action and makes it impossible for ill-thought-through decisions and attempts to avoid responsibility and to cover up mistakes and shortcomings in work to be accepted. Thanks to IZVESTIYA TSK, the activity of the highest CPSU organs will be more accessible for analysis by Communists and the broad public, and that is very important for a ruling party.

I would like IZVESTIYA TSK to promote in every way a constructive dialogue both in the party and in the whole of society. The journal must become one of the authoritative platforms of restructuring and a place for the discussions and for the exchange of opinions of all those who hold dear the ideas of socialism and who strive for its actual renewal.

It is very necessary for all of us to know the true state of affairs in order to find the correct solutions. Any grains of current experience are of value here. But we display no less attention in our attitude toward the lessons of the past. Of importance, too, therefore, is the section of the journal which contains items published from the party's archives. A large amount of work is now being carried out on studying them, working on them and putting them in order. All of this IZVESTIYA TSK will make accessible to scholars and the broad public so that our party's rich historical experience, given meaning to more deeply and from many sides, might serve restructuring.

I hope, esteemed comrades, that the new journal will become a good assistant for you in your work.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev

[Dated] January, 1989.

The level of interest in genuine documents and facts has increased dramatically, and these have pride of place in our news selection. People want to know everything first hand, as they say; they want to be involved in working out major decisions. The party's new journal also aims to take part in this public dialogue.

What does IZVESTIYA TASK KPSS have to offer in its first issue?

Its most representative feature is entitled 'In the Central Committee of the CPSU', which begins with a report on the work done by the party Central Committee since the 19th party conference. It also contains the as yet unpublished major decisions adopted over that period.

The feature centers around documents describing restructuring in the affairs of the party itself. While leading the processes of renewal, the CPSU has started with itself; the party organizations are mastering political methods of leadership, giving up petty tutelage of local soviet and economic bodies.

All this has made new demands on the party apparatus. The journal publishes M.S. Gorbachev's note "On the Matter of Reorganizing the Party Apparatus," which stresses that the apparatus must be restructured on the basis of a division of functions between the party, local soviet, and administrative bodies. It also brings up fundamental questions concerning the nature, purpose, and structure of the CPSU Central Committee apparatus and the tasks faced by its new departments.

The journal contains concrete information on changes in the staffing and structure of the local party body apparatus, and on the new departments of the CPSU Central Committee apparatus (9 departments have replaced the previous 20, and staff members have been cut).

But the main thing, of course, is not the organizational rearrangements. Party committees have to pick up a business-like work style rapidly and genuinely lead the tumultuous democratic movement underway throughout society. The recently ended report-back and election campaign has provided initial and very valuable experience in this respect. A report by the Central Committee Department of Party Construction and Cadres Work describes how the rayon and town party conferences went. These latest report-backs and elections were more stringent and democratic than ever before; they brought to light a multitude of vital issues and intensified the need for each party member to adopt an active stance.

In response to wishes voiced by delegates at the 19th party conference and contained in letters from working people, IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS is commencing the publication of biographical details on the party's leading cadres. The first issue carries brief biographies of the members and candidate members of the Politburo, the CPSU Central Committee secretaries and the chairman of the Party Control Committee attached to the CPSU Central Committee. Subsequent issues will contain brief details on the members and candidate members of the Central Committee and members of the Central Auditing Commission, on the structure of the Central Committee apparatus and the heads of its departments, and on the first secretaries of the union republic Central Committees, party kraykoms and obkoms, and the heads of central party establishments. It has been decided to make this a permanent feature of the journal.

The journal presents the Central Committee's activity along the most important avenues of restructuring: implementing political and deepening economic reform, reviving the spiritual life of society, and resolving paramount urgent problems.

We also would draw attention to the fact that many of the decisions being published are accompanied by supplements in the form of analytic notes by Central Committee departments, information, and other documents, such as the final report of the Politburo commission on restructuring the organizational structures of the USSR central economic bodies, ministries, and departments; the notes of Central Committee departments on the elaboration of a conception for improving the flow of information to society and on the situation with retail prices for consumer goods and rates for services; proposals for resolving specific problems relating to the economic and social development of Krasnoyarsk Kray; information from the USSR Council of Ministers on certain negative phenomena in combatting drunkenness and alcoholism; a report from the AUCCTU on measures taken for strengthening supervision of the work of enterprises in the fields of trade, public catering, and domestic services; and other documents that reveal topical problems in the life of Soviet people.

The edition also carries materials disclosing the work of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, the party Control Committee attached to the CPSU Central Committee, and the party's international ties.

A substantial place is allotted to documents of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission for the additional study of materials connected with the repressions that took place in the period of the 30's, 40's, and the beginning of the 50's. They tell of the difficult and very necessary work in the name of legality, justice, and truth, and of the results of carefully researching hundreds of volumes of court cases and numerous testimonies to the tragic events of history. The edition publishes documents on the rehabilitation of persons condemned in the case of the so-called "anti-Soviet rightist-Trotskyite bloc": the full text of the protest by the USSR procurator general, an excerpt from the resolution of the USSR Supreme Court, and documentary historical information from the Marxism-Leninism Institute at the CPSU Central Committee.

Reports carried in the feature "information and chronicle" tell of many aspects of the everyday activity of the party and its organizations. Proposals for such publications also stemmed from delegates to the 19th party conference and from the public of the country.

Information on fulfilling the party budget in 1987 shows that the activity of the party and of its apparatus is fully secured at the expense of its own means, formed from membership dues from Communists and allocations from the profits of the party's enterprises and publishing houses. In 1987, the sum of party membership dues came to R1,340,600,000. The bulk of party budget resources are directed at securing the activity of local party organizations, and only 3 percent of these resources are spent on securing all of the enormous work of the CPSU Central Committee apparatus.

Nor will the attentive reader miss information on the results of party recruitment over the first 9 months of 1988 and on subscriptions to a number of central publications for 1989.

The journal's feature "CPSU Central Committee mailbag" is wideranging. More than a million letters were sent to the Central Committee in 1988, and 37,500 people appealed to the Central Committee information and reception service in the course of the year. In their letters and appeals the working people propose, advise, criticize and express their views on practically all the problems of the party's policies.

Letters to the Central Committee are very valuable material necessary for making major decisions. The readers of the first edition of IZVESTIYA TSK will be able to familiarize themselves with a review of letters from working people which was presented to the delegates of the 19th party conference, as well as with a number of letters on the basis of which specific instructions by Central Committee secretaries were issued and carried out.

IZVESTIYA TSK begin a permanent column entitled "From Party Archives." The first issue prints new documents about V.I. LENIN—his letters to V.V. Fomin, P.A. Krasikov, L.B. Kamenfey, and I.f. Armand. Telegrams to RKP(B) [Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)] Central Committee in connection with Ilyich's illness are full of moving concern and anxiety. Great sorrow of the people can be heard in the condolences on the occasion of his death.

The activity of the Central Committee in the revolutionary days of 1917 is described in a documentary chronicle of events and facts the magazine is planning to print over many issues with assistance from researchers of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism at the CPSU Central Committee.

The party archives contain letters sent at various times to its leaders by well-known writers, scientists, and public figures. The majority of these letters have never been published. The first issue brings us nine letters from A.M. Gorkiy's correspondence with G.YE. Zinovyev, F.E. Dzerzhinsky, N.I. Bukharin, A.I. Rykov and I.I. Skvortsov-Stepanov.

The cover of IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS carries two printing history dates: "Published from 1919 to 1929. Relaunched 1989." IZVESTIYA TSK RKP(B), the first issue of which was published on 28 May 1919, has for a long time now been a bibliographic rarity. The readers of the magazine will be able to familiarize themselves with concise reviews of it.

Genuine continuity does not lie in the similarity of the titles of course. Lenin's IZVESTIYA TSK RKP(B) followed this demand: "...more light, let the party know everything...."

By renewing the publication of its magazine the Central Committee is taking another major step along the road of renaissance of glasnost. That is the crucial thing.

CPSU Ideological Commission Meets
PM3001092589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

["Session of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Commission" —PRAVDA headline]

[Text] The Soviet Communist Party Central Committee's Ideological Commission held its first meeting to discuss the main directions of its work this year and consider a draft law on the press and other mass media.

The session was chaired by Central Committee Secretary and Politburo member Vadim Medvedev.

It was noted during an exchange of opinions that the tasks in the ideological sphere are dictated by the current phase in restructuring during which practical work begins to fulfill economic and political reform programs.

The groundswell of grassroots initiative represents a favorable factor for progress along the path of socialist renewal, offering new possibilities for ideological activities. But there are also quite a few sharp problems and contradictions and a wide divergence of opinions.

Speakers stressed the fundamental ideological significance of the January 6 meeting with scientists and cultural workers at the Party Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev's assessment of the current ideological situation in his speech there and the course of promoting democracy and openness, consolidating all reform forces and decisively embarking on constructive action to resolve restructuring problems and achieve socialist renewal.

Ideological work in conditions of glasnost, democracy and a pluralism of opinions should be based on real processes under way in society, take fuller account of public opinion and the interests of different groups of working people, and help the successful accomplishment of the key tasks of restructuring.

Speakers pointed to the importance of working among the masses and of the ability to talk to people, persuade them and affirm the party positions of principle.

The meeting also dealt with the need to provide more and better facilities and resources for the press, television and radio.

The upcoming major ideological and political events of national significance—general elections, the convocation of a Congress of People's Deputies, and Central Committee plenums on agrarian policy and interethnic relations—largely determine the main directions of the ideological commission's work.

Participation in formulating a modern concept of socialism is a task of special significance.

It was also stressed how important it is to promptly analyze current issues of ideological activities and make appropriate recommendations.

The meeting endorsed a plan for the commission's work.

Viktor Afanasyev, editor-in-chief of PRAVDA and chairman of the board of the USSR Union of Journalists read out a report on the USSR draft law on the press and the other mass media.

The members of the commission and the heads of a number of central newspapers, TASS, USSR Gosteleradio, and artistic unions invited to the session noted that the mass media are one of the keenest and most potent instruments of restructuring, of Party guidance, and of the Party's influence on social processes. Here it was pointed out that the law must be an important legal document and at the same time a political document defining the place, the role, and the tasks of the mass media organs in the profound revolutionary transformations going on in Soviet society. Specific proposals aimed at clarifying the relationships between the mass media, citizens, and state and public organizations were advanced, as were proposals aimed at clarifying the role of founders of press organs and editorial boards and the rights of journalists. Emphasis was also placed on the importance of the law's taking account of the specific features of television, radio, and news agencies.

The commission recommended that the draft should be finalized with regard for the discussion that had taken place for its subsequent publication in the press and its broad discussion by the public.

The Commission also listened to an information report delivered by A.S. Kapto on the functions and structure of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department. It was remarked that, though founded on the basis of three departments that used to exist—those of Propaganda, Science and Educational Institutions, and Culture—now that these have been virtually halved in size, the Central Committee Ideological Department is basically a new subdivision within the apparatus of the Party Central Committee which is intended effectively to carry out the CPSU line in the realm of ideology, to promote fulfillment of the Central Committee Politburo decisions, and to assist in the Commission's work on ideology.

The following spoke at the session: V.V. Karpov, first secretary of the USSR Writers Union Board; G.I. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; V.G. Zakharov, USSR minister of culture; M.F. Nenashev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade; A.A. Belyayev, chief editor of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA KULTURA; R.G. Yanovskiy, rector of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences; Yu.S. Karabasov,

secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom; G.L. Smirnov, director of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism and Leninism; T.G. Ivanova, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; V.A. Kuptsov, first secretary of the Vologda CPSU Obkom; M.A. Ulyanov, chairman of the USSR Theater Workers Union Board; Yu.N. Yelchenko, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; V.I. Popov, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting; and A.S. Pavlov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee State Law Department.

Boris Yeltsin Interviewed on Election Candidacy
PM2801125389 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 5, 29 Jan 89 pp 8-9

[Interview with Boris Yeltsin by correspondent Mikhail Poltoranin: "Minister or Deputy?"; date, place of interview not given; first two paragraphs are reader's letter]

[Text] Is it true that several Moscow enterprises have nominated B. Yeltsin as a candidate for USSR people's deputy? And another question: Can Yeltsin participate in the current election campaign? After all, he holds a ministerial post.

Kseniya Chudakova, Moscow.

Our correspondent Mikhail Poltoranin asked Boris Yeltsin to answer the reader's questions.

[Poltoranin] Let us start with the reader's first question—about your nomination as a candidate people's deputy.

[Yeltsin] Yes, my name has been put forward in Moscow. Cables asking me to agree to run for election have also come from elsewhere—Sakhalin, Magadan, Yakutiya, Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, Perm, Karelia, Leningrad, Dnepropetrovsk.... I now have to decide in which okrug to run. Irrespective of this, let me take this opportunity to thank the collectives who have shown trust in me.

[Poltoranin] The reader notes that under the election law a union-level minister cannot become a deputy. Will you have to make a choice?

[Yeltsin] If elected I will leave my ministerial job. That's definite as far as I'm concerned.

[Poltoranin] Have you evolved an election program?

[Yeltsin] Of course. It's impossible to cite all the points in it in a short interview. Strategically it is in line with the CPSU platform spelled out in the appeal "To the Party and the Soviet People." I also have proposals of my own, relating to the reform of the political system, the economy, and the struggle for social justice. I will talk specifics about everything at an okrug meeting and at meetings with voters.

More on Nominations of People's Deputy Candidates

Candidate Withdraws

LD2801153689 Moscow TASS in English 1527 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] Odessa January 28 TASS—By TASS correspondent Georgiy Vorotnyuk:

Anatoliy Prikaznyuk, a physician from an Odessa sanitary-epidemiological station (Ukraine), who has been nominated by several work collectives as candidate for people's deputies of the USSR, has withdrawn his candidature. The elections are to be held in March.

Nothing of the kind happened in the Soviet Union before. This is an unusual election campaign in the USSR. It is being held for the first time on the basis of perestroika-prompted legislation on elections. It is being marked by high civic responsibility of both electors and candidates.

Anatoliy Prikaznyuk said, motivating his decision to withdraw his candidacy: There are two more men, nominated as candidates for one mandate in the district. They are Director of the Physico-Chemical Institute of the Ukraine's Academy of Sciences Sergey Andronati and General Director of the Odessa Heavy Crane Building Association Gennadiy Koshelenko. Any of them, Prikaznyuk believes, will exercise better his powers as deputy. They have social weight, executive talent and experience as deputy.

Well, such a stand deserves respect. The law provides for a possibility for one to withdraw his candidacy at any time before the elections. There will perhaps be others who would decide to step down before the election campaign ends.

Constituency Candidate Registration

LD2801201989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0908 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 28 Jan (TASS)—Our correspondent reports from the Central Electoral Commission:

The Central Electoral Commission is receiving the first data on the registration of candidate USSR people's deputies in the constituencies. Let us recall that 2,250 deputies will be chosen in the March elections. Of them, 1,500 will be elected by the population, in constituencies, while 750 will be elected directly by public organizations: the CPSU, the trade unions, women's and young people's associations, the creative unions, and so on. The registration of candidates from public organizations is over, and registration in constituencies has now begun.

Registration is an important legal act. Only when it has been done can those seeking election officially become candidate deputies, thus acquiring all the rights conferred by the law, above all the right to stand for election. The law on elections has put the responsibility for registering candidates on constituency election commissions. They are to check whether the nomination of each candidate took place in line with the law on elections. One must make sure that nomination meetings are competent. When nominating a candidate on behalf of his workplace, not less than half the collective should take part in the meeting. When nominating a candidate on behalf of his place of residence, no fewer than 500 people should take part. It is also essential to be sure of everything connected with the personality of the candidate. He must not be younger than 21, must live or work on the territory of the nominating constituency, and finally, must agree to appear on the ballot of precisely that constituency. The following restriction also applies: Under the law, USSR ministers, the chairman and members of the USSR Supreme Court, and the leaders of a number of central departments cannot be deputies. They have the right to become candidates only in the event that they declare their intention to give up the post they occupy should they be elected.

Any number of nominees for deputy can be presented for registration for each constituency. However, it goes without saying that this article of the law must not contradict common sense. The experience of nomination by public organizations also has convinced us of this. There were up to 200 contenders per nomination in the trade unions, for example. Several rounds of preliminary selection had to be conducted.

In many election constituencies, the number of contenders likewise exceeds a rational limit: 10-15 people per mandate is no rarity. Constituency pre-election conferences will take place in such situations.

A conference is called by a constituency electoral commission. An equal number of representatives from each collective that put forward candidates participates in it. Can "fans" be brought in from the side? The law responds: Yes, but at least half the participants in the meeting should be voters from the given electoral constituency.

In order to have the support of the constituency pre-election meeting, a contender must, if he is to become a candidate, obtain the support of the majority of the meeting's participants. Voting can be secret or open; the participants in the meeting decide this for themselves.

Few constituency pre-election meetings have occurred to date, but judging by the press in outlying areas, the situation is as follows for the meantime: Two or three contenders have been getting the support of a majority. How things will proceed henceforth is anybody's guess. After all, the USSR has never had such democratic elections before.

Journalists' Union Candidates

PM2601105089 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian 25 Jan 89 p 2

[G. Ivanov report under the rubric "We Elect": "Who Was Left Out"]

[Text] The USSR Journalists' Union Board plenum devoted to the nomination of candidate people's deputies took place as it should—in a businesslike, democratic, and exacting manner. The journalists stoically endured the patent injustice they were subjected to: With 86,000 members, the Journalists' Union received 10 seats, the same as unions with one-fortieth of that number of people.

More than 90 people were proposed as candidates at meetings of local organizations. The board presidium recommended 25 of them for discussion, with no restrictions on additions to the list. In the end, 14 out of the 25 remained.

Some got through without any particular discussion, with full unanimity among the voters (L.P. Kravchenko, the new general director of TASS; V.V. Ovchinnikov, PRAVDA's political observer; N.M. Panov, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA chief editor; G.N. Seleznev, the new chief editor of UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA; and N.A. Shibik, editor of the Ukrainian RABOCHAYA GAZETA).

Others got through after confining themselves to setting forth their platform (V.N. Kucher, editor of the newspaper MAGNITOGORSKIY RABOCHIY; A.G. Mukhtarov, editor of the Uzbek newspaper KISHLOK KAKI KATY; L.I. Batynskaya, editor of the newspaper KRASNYYARSKIY KOMSOMOLETS; K.K. Dvoysev, editor of SOTSIALISTIK KAZAKHSTAN; and V.P. Zuykov, editor of the house newspaper STROITEL in Tyumen Oblast).

Others again were well and truly "sounded out" with questions (A.Ye. Bovin, IZVESTIYA Political observer; O.R. Latsis, first deputy editor of the journal KOMMUNIST; D.Yu. Shnyukas, new chairman of the Lithuanian Writers' Union Board and PRAVDA's own correspondent).

The powerful support that was organized for M.N. Poltoranin, APN political observer and chairman of the board of the Moscow journalists' organization, was rather unexpected.

All these 14 comrades out of the 25 recommended by the USSR Journalists' Union Board Presidium were nominated candidate people's deputies. The 15th was A.S. Yezhelev, chief of the IZVESTIYA correspondents' center—as a result of pressure on the Leningrad voting colleagues.

Of the three "self-nominees," none received the necessary number of votes, not even the well-known international affairs journalist M.G. Sturua. V.I. Selyunin, who was supported by the journalists of Altay and Tula Oblast, also failed to get through.

At least four candidates literally spoiled their own chances because of their unpreparedness for events of this kind and their inability to take into account the mood of the audience. Three "candidate candidates" spoke badly, failed to avoid generalizations, and simply looked unconvincing.

The candidacies of a number of people who are well known in the press—V.S. Kozhemyako (PRAVDA), V.A. Korotich (OGONEK), A.Z. Rubinov (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA), F.M. Seyful-Mulyukov (State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting), and Ye.V. Yakovlev (MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI)—who were recommended by local journalists' organizations, failed to win support.

***Academy of Sciences Candidates**

WA18000431a Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
25 Jan 89 p 2

[In the Electoral Commissions, on the Election of USSR People's Deputies From the USSR Academy of Sciences]

[Text] The electoral commission considered the protocol of the ruling organs of the USSR Academy of Sciences on the nomination of candidates to deputies, and the applications of the nominated candidates on their consent to be put on the ballot by the USSR Academy of Sciences. The commission has registered the following candidates to USSR people's deputies:

Alekseyev, Sergey Sergeyevich—born 1924, corresponding member of USSR Academy of Sciences, director, Institute of Philosophy and Law, Ural Division, USSR Academy of Sciences, Sverdlovsk.

Alferov, Zhores Ivanovich—born 1930, academician, director, A.F. Ioffe Physico-Technological Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences, Leningrad.

Buslaev, Yuriy Aleksandrovich—born 1929, academician, academician-secretary, Division of Physical Chemistry and Technology of Unbounded Materials, USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow.

Gaponov-Grekhov, Andrey Viktorovich—born 1926, academician, director, Institute of Applied Physics, USSR Academy of Science, Gorkiy.

Dobretsov, Nikolay Leontiyevich—born 1936, academician, chairman of the presidium of the Buryat Scientific Center, USSR Academy of Sciences, Siberian Division, Ulan-Ude.

Zharikov, Vilen Andreyevich—born 1926, academician, director, Institute of Experimental Mineralogy, USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow oblast, settlement Chernogolovka.

Ilichev, Viktor Ivanovich—born 1932, academician, vice-president, USSR Academy of Sciences, chairman, USSR Academy of Sciences, Far Eastern Division, Vladivostok.

Kalininkov, Vladimir Trofimovich—born 1935, corresponding member, USSR Academy of Sciences, presidium chairman, Kola Scientific Center, Murmansk Oblast, city Apatity.

Karlov, Nikolay Vasilyevich—born 1929, corresponding member, USSR Academy of Sciences, dean, Moscow Physico-Technological Institute, Moscow.

Krymskiy, Germogen Filippovich—born 1937, corresponding member, USSR Academy of Sciences, presidium chairman, Yakutsk Scientific Center, USSR Academy of Sciences, Siberian Division, Yakutsk.

Logachev, Nikolay Alekseyevich—born 1929, academician, presidium chairman, Irkutsk Scientific Center, USSR Academy of Sciences, Siberian Division, Irkutsk.

Melnikov, Vladimir Pavlovich—born 1940, corresponding member, USSR Academy of Sciences, director, Institute of Problems of Assimilation of the North, USSR Academy of Sciences, Siberian Division, Tyumen.

Mikhalevich, Vladimir Sergeyevich—born 1930, academician, academician-secretary, Division of Information Science, Computer Technology and Automation, Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, Kiev.

Nefedov, Oleg Matveyevich—born 1931, academician, vice-president, USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow.

Osipyan, Yuriy Andreyevich—born 1931, academician, vice-president, USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow.

Petrov, Rem Viktorovich—born 1930, academician, vice-president, USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow.

Platonov, Vladimir Petrovich—born 1939, academician, president, Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences, Minsk.

Purin, Bruno Andreyevich—born 1928, academician, president, Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences, Riga.

Rebane, Karl Karlovich—born 1926, academician, president, Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences Tallinn.

Rudenko, Yuriy Nikolayevich—born 1931, academician, academician-secretary, Division of Physico-Technological Problems of Energetics, USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow.

Sokolov, Vladimir Yevgenyevich—born 1928, academic, academician-secretary, Division of General Biology, USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow.

Spirin, Aleksandr Sergeyevich—born 1931, academician, presidium member, USSR Academy of Sciences, director, Institute of Proteins, USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow Oblast, city Pushchino.

Shabanov, Vasily Filippovich—born 1940, doctor of physico-mathematical sciences, acting presidium chairman, Krasnoyarsk Scientific Center, USSR Academy of Sciences, Siberian Division, deputy director, L.V. Kirenskiy Institute of Physics, USSR Academy of Sciences, Siberian Division, Krasnoyarsk.

***Societies for Friendship Candidates**

WA18000431b Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
25 Jan 89 p 2

[From the Union of Soviet Friendship Societies and Cultural Links to Foreign Lands (SSOD) and the Soviet Society on Cultural Links with Compatriots Abroad ("Rodina" society)]

[Text] The electoral commission considered the protocol of the joint session of SSOD and "Rodina" society on the nomination of candidates to the USSR people's deputies, and the application of the nominated candidates on their consent to be put on the ballot by these societies. The commission has registered the following candidates to USSR people's deputies:

Yeliseyev, Aleksey Stanislavovich—presidium chairman, "Rodina" society, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, doctor of technological sciences, professor, dean, N.E. Bauman Moscow Higher Technical School, twice Hero of the Soviet Union, USSR pilot-cosmonaut.

Tereshkova, Valentina Vladimirovna—SSOD presidium chairwoman, member, CC CPSU, member, USSR Supreme Soviet presidium, Hero of the Soviet Union, USSR pilot-cosmonaut, candidate of technological sciences.

Tupolev, Aleksey Andreyevich—chairman, central directorate of the Soviet-Bulgarian Friendship Society, member, SSOD council, academician, general aviation designer.

Falin, Valentin Mikhaylovich—doctor of history, member, SSOD council, candidate member, CC CPSU, manager, International Department, CC CPSU.

Frolov, Konstantin Vasilyevich—Chairman, USSR-Sweden Society, member, SSOD council, vice-president, USSR Academy of Sciences, director, A. Blagonravov Institute of Machine Science.

Electoral Law Opens 'Chances'

LD2901141289 Moscow World Service in English
1210 GMT 29 Jan 89

[Boris Markovnikov commentary]

[Excerpts] Last week saw the nomination of candidates to stand in elections to the Congress of People's Deputies. The nomination was accompanied by turbulent debates, clashes of opinions and positions. Here is a commentary by Boris Markovnikov, who writes:

We have taken part in many elections, but were those elections genuine when the results had been determined beforehand? One name was printed in miserable isolation on the ballot paper. This time it is quite different. The new electoral law has opened chances for an honest and open choice. Any number of candidates can now run for one seat. The nomination took about 4 weeks and it taught us many useful lessons of election fighting—a new experience for us. I saw some people at election meetings who were trying to shout-down the candidates they dislike. But the elementary democratic rule is that if you oppose this or that candidate you should take the floor and nominate another that you will support. In some places the local authorities and leaders of public organizations were far from worthy of the occasion. The law was broken here and there by hampering election meetings, by a false show of unity in backing the candidate imposed from above. I think that many citizens realize that such obsolete practices by the apparatus will never disappear unless the peoples resist them, boldly facing the official pressure and fighting for their rights. But happily, it was only a few cases that democracy was infringed upon. [passage omitted]

I am looking through the list of nominees. They include those who initiated restructuring and fought stagnation to purify the socialist idea. There are many people who kept their convictions in the hardest times and were preparing the current changes. There is a wide range of social status and age: There are scientists, cultural figures, engineers, industrial workers, farmers, and public leaders. There are many women and young people. So, nominations are over, but the elections campaign is expanding. The candidates will contest a vote of confidence for their platforms. The elections will be held next March—2,250 deputies will be elected to congress.

KGB Denies Reports on Cooperation Agreements

[For earlier reportage on claims of KGB cooperation with Western intelligence bodies, see the Political & Social section of the 23 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pp 55-56]

LD3001154989 Kuwait KUNA in English 1356 GMT
30 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, Jan 30 (KUNA)—A Soviet security official Monday denied reports claiming that Soviet State Security Committee (KGB) had signed agreements with the C.I.A., Mossad or the British intelligence.

KGB deputy director Vitaliy Ponomarev said in a press statement published here today the KGB, however, does not reject dealing with other countries' intelligence bodies in extraordinary situations.

The KGB, he added, contacted a number of foreign intelligence bodies, including the Israeli foreign service Mossad, to abort the hijacking of a Soviet jetliner last December.

Earlier Western press reports quoted Ponomarev as saying the KGB was ready "to cooperate with the C.I.A. and the Mossad in combatting terrorism."

Plans To Re-Establish Private Farming in Estonia
LD2701225189 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish
2100 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Family farms and religious education are to be reintroduced in Estonia. This surprising announcement was made by the controversial party leader Vaino Valjas when answering questions from Estonian television viewers in a live broadcast of a phone-in program, unique in the Soviet Union.

[Tallinn correspondent (Thomas Nordgren)] Within a few weeks a new law will be presented which will mean a big step toward the privatization of agriculture. When, after the television broadcast, I met Agriculture Minister Gustav Tonspoeg, he confirmed that it is intended that family farms be restored in Estonia. Soviet agriculture is in crisis and Estonia, by investing in family-operated agriculture, will show the way for the rest of the Soviet Union, said the Agriculture minister.

Private farming, with small plots and leaseholds, already occurs in the Soviet Union. The important difference is that Estonia will be the first Soviet republic to give legal rights to private farmers. Family farmers will have most of the good farmland at their disposal in perpetuity, and will not have to pay more than what collective agriculture pays in lease to the state. Farmers will be able to decide for themselves what to cultivate and to whom they will sell. In addition, the land will be inheritable for the farmer's children.

Estonian Political Situation Reviewed
LD2601183289 Tallinn SIRP JA VASAR in Estonian
30 Dec 88 pp 3, 4

[Excerpts] The beginning of 1988 was not particularly promising for Estonia politically. [passage omitted] A day before the people's meeting planned for 17 June, Karl Vaino was released from his duties [as first party secretary], evidently at the initiative of the central authorities. The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, which a month previously had supported him for electing delegates to the party conference, now voted unanimously to the contrary and elected a new first secretary. By the way, Karl Vaino is, as before, a member of the Estonian Communist Party

Central Committee and a deputy to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet. The 11th, 12th, and 13th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenums have still not produced a principled assessment of his activity as a politician and party leader over a lengthy period of time in Estonia.

All this suggests that those close to him within the Estonian Communist Party and the Supreme Soviet hold strong positions. I think that the former first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee even now has a lively interest in Estonian affairs and that his covert influence upon what is taking place here is considerably larger than we can imagine. [passage omitted]

The Inter-Movement is no more than the tip of the iceberg of the Joint Council of Work Collectives and is now losing a considerable amount of popularity. It is being attempted, however, to keep the council within the political arena. It is claimed that the council enjoys enormous numbers of supporters, although in practice this claim has not been confirmed. Inviting us to sit at the same table with them, the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee made an essential concession to the conservatives and is about to shift the whole structure of political forces. Propping up and artificially increasing the role of Inter-Movement and the Joint Council of Work Collectives, other extreme groups are also objectively being activated this way, and political relations in the republic will again be filled with tension.

A situation is being haphazardly created that is interpreted by the public as an attack by an extreme group, with the party organs closing their eyes to its activity. Therefore, some people may ask if the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee is not about to retreat from the positions declared at the September plenum and start making unprincipled compromises. How is one to otherwise understand keeping quiet about the demands of hundreds of work collectives to provide a clear party assessment to the activity of both the Joint Council of Work Collectives and the Inter-Movement; attempts are made to justify, however, the undemocratic aims and attitudes of these two by the present realities.

Yes, the Inter-Movement is a reality, but an extreme reality with respect to its views, and at the same time a reality no more than other extreme groups. Everyone, of course, has a right to choose his allies and partners himself. If the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee also chooses those who with their activities largely ignore the positions of the 11th plenum, then it does not have free choice.

It is difficult to understand the attitudes of both the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and the Tallinn Communist Party City Committee toward the establishment of the Joint Council of Work Collectives at the House of Political Enlightenment. The organization to be created at the orchestration of some factories

of union subordination, intended to represent the working people of all Estonia while assuming very extensive authority in both the political and economic spheres, was peacefully agreed to. This peace vanished once other work collectives woke up and it became clear that those for whom there was not even any room planned at the House of Political Enlightenment would turn up to create a new management body.

Finally a decision was made that separate activity would not be permitted and that one solid association of work collectives would be created. Logically only the Union of Work Collectives, set up at the Linnahall, could have been this association, representing a considerably extensive section of our economy. Vacant places were also left accommodatingly within their leading bodies for representatives of factories of union subordination.

There are noticeable attempts by the party to distance itself from the People's Front and to intensively seek cooperation with those groups which recently criticized the resolutions of the 11th plenum, the course of the Estonian Communist Party and—first and foremost—the People's Front, of course. Attempts are made more and more frequently to claim that what is not allowed in the Inter-Movement cannot be allowed in the People's Front either. It is strange that the People's Front has yet to be registered. An application to this effect was presented at the beginning of October and it was promised to be decided upon promptly. [passage omitted] One cannot bypass the moral aspect of the question. The People's Front has appealed to the people to support the main line of the Estonian Communist Party, but this fact did not meet with any assessment in the report of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum. The plenum did not adopt a stance either with respect to the lies and slander currently being disseminated about the People's Front. [passage omitted]

In the opinion of a number of people, the top event of the year occurred on 16 November. The resolutions adopted then, however, are still hanging in the air, and it is no longer proper to speak in certain circles about their implementation. One indeed meets firm assurances that we are not going back, but I have not heard anybody declaring what specifically we are not going back on and if this still applies to the 16 November declaration of sovereignty and to the amendments of the Estonian SSR Constitution. The knowledge that at the last Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet session, which took place at the beginning of December, we still managed to defend the 16 November resolutions, does not bring me any particular joy. Instead, it concerns me that nearly 100 deputies voted against their former resolutions, which means that a very large number of them have changed their minds, and that includes some people of this kind who regained the confidence of the people namely on the basis of 16 November. Yet now they are ready to give up this confidence in the name of something else.

It is time to abandon rashness and to understand at least two points. First, that the 16 November declaration of sovereignty and constitutional amendments was an historic step taken strictly within the legal framework. Only those rights were declared in the declaration of sovereignty which we have formally and juridically possessed all along and which were put into use for the first time in amending the Constitution. There is but one step, however, from being greatness to being ridiculous. At the moment we are advancing in this direction so that our strength and unity may become affirmation of our impotence. Not everyone understands the graveness of the situation. It is necessary to proceed from the 16 November resolutions; it is necessary to implement them. Second, we recently paid too much attention to specific individuals within Estonian politics. Our political culture, however, should be sufficiently high to allow us to understand that it is not the individuals who are the main point, but indeed the positions they defend and implement or do not implement. [passage omitted]

Estonian Premier Interviewed on Self-Management
LD2701143989 Tallinn MALEHT in Estonian
19 Jan 89 p 5

[Interview with Indrek Toome, chairman of the Estonian Council of Ministers, by newspapers RAHVA HAAL and MALEHT under headline "Premier Indrek Toome: We Must Jointly Defend Estonia's Interests"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted]

[Question] What kind of a list of priorities is there for the problems that the premier handles?

[Answer] Everything connected with IME [self-managing Estonia] is firmly on top of the list. For me IME is no longer three abstract letters; it is a whole complex of specific problems awaiting solutions. [passage omitted]

The overall IME concept must be worked out by 15 March. We will then make it public and present it to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet for ratification. This is all internal republican work.

In order to conduct Estonian affairs in Moscow one needs to be a diplomat. That means that I must bring the IME concept to the consciousness of the union leadership and to other union republics, as well as participate in working out the principles of self-management for the union as a whole.

Recently there was a session of the union government, with all governmental leaders voicing their opinions on self-management. The Baltic union republics would like to change over to self-management from 1 January 1990, some others would like to switch from the new 5-year plan period, and some are hoping to push it as far ahead

as possible. The speech by our Lithuanian colleague met with strong criticism. His plan coincides in many areas with our views. This criticism was not at all friendly. [passage omitted]

[Question] After that, on 10 January, you had a meeting with the USSR premier. What did you talk about?

[Answer] I spoke on behalf of myself and my Latvian colleague. Obviously, we will be understood. Yet at the same time there may be a great danger that self-management will be introduced in all the union republics with the same yardstick, without considering any special features, as has always been done up to now. Then, however, it will not be our hoped-for IME—it is, rather, yet another form of command administration which will be born. This is what I fear most of all at the moment.

[Question] Is your faith in IME still as unshakable as before, after the Moscow meetings? Or will you carry out the will of the people, being the head servant—"minister" in Latin meaning a servant—so consequently you are the head servant of the people?

[Answer] What one does not believe in cannot be carried out. Having talked to Ryzhkov, however, my faith became even firmer, because IME is the only opportunity to strengthen socialism; IME is the alternative to command administration. The new economic model for socialism, however, is for us a question of life or death. This is also understood in Moscow—there cannot be a strong center without strong republics. Nobody, however, wants to relinquish authority easily. A long and difficult struggle lies ahead, within the republic as well; we have to redistribute authority here, too. If Tallinn strives for more authority from Moscow, then rayon centers do likewise in respect of Tallinn. And that is natural. [passage omitted]

[Question] The people are tired of waiting for changes. When can we taste the first fruits of IME?

[Answer] I believe that that will be as soon as next year. We want to switch over completely then. We also hope to put together the republican budget completely by ourselves, according to income. And from Tallinn we will assign this right also to the rayons. This year we want to create a family fund in support of young families. And yet it is clear that there can be no overnight change in the economy; our empty shelves cannot be filled immediately. Therefore, how we manage to protect consumers in our republic is also important right now.

[Question] One of the measures was to restrict mailed packages. Is anything else planned?

[Answer] There is a proposal to start selling to the population checks of the housing and social funds bank. One could then purchase goods which are in short supply in the stores only with these checks. But at the moment there is no need to worry. Should these ideas begin to

take shape, we will first discuss everything thoroughly with the people. We will do everything so that Estonians in Estonia will not be even worse off.

There is something else I would like to say.

In our republic there are many workers in cooperatives who sell goods elsewhere that have been purchased here. And there are many rural people who fatten cattle with concentrated feeds obtained from our republican quota, but sell the meat elsewhere. One can but ask a rhetorical question: Is it the republican government alone which has to protect the interests of the republic? I am convinced that we have to protect Estonia's interests jointly. We would like to apply firm sanctions soon against such activities, in the interests of Estonia and to protect the people living in Estonia. This is another important string of questions for the premier and the whole of the Council of Ministers. [passage omitted]

[Question] It is probably clear that one of the most important undertakings at the moment is to establish farmsteads. What is Moscow's attitude toward our wanting to provide people with land for use in perpetuity?

[Answer] I think that we can decide upon this peacefully on our own, because the land will still remain the property of the state. An individual will only be given it to manage it in perpetuity. It is another matter if a resolution suffices here. Perhaps it would be more correct to adopt outright a corresponding law. One way or another, we have to decide this ourselves, relying upon our good sense. [passage omitted]

Latvia's Gorbunov Reviews Changes on 70th Jubilee
PM2701170589 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA
in Russian 15 Jan 89 pp 1-2

[Report by A.V. Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet Presidium, at 13 January ceremonial session of Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet to mark the 70th anniversary of the birth of Soviet Latvia: "Continuing the Revolution by Our Work Today"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The overall picture of the revolutionary process today is very complex. It will not get any simpler tomorrow either. Nonetheless, the situation in the republic inspires hope. We are clearly aware of our urgent problems. After the actions of the Latvian People's Front and of the International Front of the Working People of the Latvian SSR, the attitude of the various strata of the republic's public toward these problems, the methods of resolving them, and the goals which we are pursuing has become clearer. In my view, there are two possible courses of action in our political life: either struggling tirelessly against what appears unacceptable, or channeling all our efforts into the struggle for a constructive, unifying approach. The second option does not rule out the first; the main emphasis must, however, be on the second choice. In a constant

confrontation there will be no winners, only losers. The forces of restructuring will be squandered on political feuds. How can these simple conclusions be translated into practical actions? We will not get by without a clash of opinions, without a debate. Most important is what aims we set ourselves, and what means we choose to attain them.

And so, about the aims. One of the strategic tasks of restructuring is the democratization of our economic and political life. It is necessary to spare no effort to ensure that the elections are truly democratic and that truly talented and competent people take over the leadership of our political and economic life. We must strive for a democracy which is based on the opinions of the broad public and thus enables us to adopt the best possible decisions. The most constructive and effective decisions can crystallize only from a multitude of different viewpoints and proposals.

We must distance ourselves from a democracy which leads to demagoguery rather than radical changes, and also a democracy which, although it strives for radical transformations, hopes to achieve them by methods of political hooliganism and extremism.

If we manage to avoid all this, we will be able to reach a common platform of the process of democratization which will unite Communists and nonparty people, and the members of both fronts.

The present situation is such that neither party nor soviet organs can adopt a single decision that does not take account of the proposals of various social organizations and citizens. I believe that the new social organizations, too, are beginning to realize in their practical activities that problems are resolved not by means of ultimatums and rallies but by means of constructive proposals, the willingness to listen to different viewpoints, and efforts to find sensible compromises. Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the meeting with representatives of science and culture and the materials of the latest plenum of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee help to deepen the understanding of the sociopolitical processes currently under way in the country and the republic.

Comrades!

At this festive moment, as we recall Latvia's revolutionary traditions, the older generations, the people for whom the revolution and socialism meant the purpose and content of their lives, deserve our special attention. By offering them our respect we ourselves will become stronger and brighter. [passage omitted]

Our picture of what happened in 1919 in Latvia will be incomplete if we do not mention the reasons for the fall of Soviet power in Kurzeme and Vidzeme in the spring, and Latgale at the beginning of 1920.

Recently the newspaper CINA reprinted, after a period of almost 70 years, an article by Linard Laytsen "Why Did Soviet Latvia Fall?" which the Latvian writer had contributed to the "North Latvian Calendar." It says: "Absurd terror, the enforced commune, complications of the agrarian question, bureaucracy, adoption of a privileged position, and the excessively hasty nationalization of trivial assets—all this, little by little, caused the disappointment of the masses of the people, so that it can be boldly claimed that instead of the 75-80 percent of supporters in the winter, at most 15-20 percent remained at the time of the Communists' retreat."

Is Laytsen right? Yes, in many respects he is right. It is true that mistakes were made.

However, Laytsen is not entirely right. Although the writer witnessed the events, he was not an active participant or a researcher, and he totally disregards the role of the external factor in the elimination of people's power in Latvia. [passage omitted]

Independent bourgeois Latvia lasted 20 years. I believe that the time has come to stop viewing this historical period only in black and white. In the broader historical context the existence of the independent bourgeois republic must be objectively assessed also as a historically progressive reality. First, the Latvian Republic, just like Poland, Finland, and other new independent states, could not have come into being without the victory of the October Revolution. And second, it represents unquestionable progress in the development of the Latvian people and their self-awareness in comparison with the position of the Latvians in tsarist Russia—the people's prison.

During the 20 years of the existence of the republic in Latvia it proved possible to restore the war-devastated national economy, to implement an agrarian reform through the distribution of land that had belonged to big landowners, and to adapt to the new economic and political conditions. During the year of Soviet power only the basic guidelines of a system of secondary and higher education in the native language were drawn up. In the Latvian Republic this system was developed and consolidated. The same applies to culture. This period, just like any other, cannot be wiped from people's lives. The other extreme—a noncritical idealization of the Latvian Republic—would, of course, be equally unjustified. To what extent it was ideal is best judged by those who owned nothing but the labor of their hands. It is best judged by the Communists, who were in the underground or in prison. They did not stop their struggle against the bourgeois republic for an instant. [passage omitted]

In the summer of 1940, 20 years later, socialist national statehood returned, Soviet power was restored in Latvia, and the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic became part of the Soviet Union.

A broad debate is now under way in the republic about how this came about. Diverse, even diametrically opposed viewpoints are being expressed. An unjustifiably politicized atmosphere has been created around this debate, and the statements of the various factions are being absolutized. While recognizing the need for the open discussion of these questions, certain points must be made.

First of all it must be emphasized that the events of summer 1940 should not be analyzed in isolation from the processes which took place in Europe in the late thirties. On the eve of World War II there had been a universal devaluation of the norms of international law, and there was an intensification of strong-arm tactics and behind-the-scenes deals. The decisive circumstance for Latvia and the neighboring states was that, by virtue of their geopolitical position, they became part of the sphere of interests of the USSR and of Hitlerite Germany.

This confronted all political forces in Latvia in the summer of 1940 with the inevitable choice of siding either with the USSR or with fascist Germany.

The choice of the Latvian working people was determined by their historical and revolutionary traditions. The mood of the broadest sections of the public was characterized by the slogan: "We will not cede Latvia to Hitler!"

We know which option was chosen, and history has confirmed its correctness more than once. However, at the same time it must be admitted that the process of the restoration of Soviet power in Latvia and its accession to the USSR was deformed to a considerable degree. A characteristic example of Stalin's foreign policy is provided by the note of 16 June 1940 which is tantamount to an ultimatum that the government be replaced and an additional USSR military contingent be deployed on the territory of Latvia.

After the formation of the national government, and especially after Latvia became part of the USSR, the influence of Stalin's domestic policy in turn became more noticeable. For instance, the soviets of working people's deputies in districts, cities and smaller administrative units were elected only in 1948. Prior to that their place was taken by executive committees appointed from above. There were unjustified repressions from which Communists and members of the government were not spared.

The first mass deportation took place 14 June 1941.

Nonetheless, the restoration of Soviet power and the building of socialism were also accompanied by the selfless labor of our people and an upsurge of creative

efforts. Socialist Latvia was forged in the decisive battles against the German invaders during the Great Patriotic War and during the postwar restoration work. [passage omitted]

It is necessary to realize the continuity of the historical process, because our current efforts to strengthen the economic and political sovereignty of the Latvian SSR within the USSR are geared to surmounting the deformations of the past and creating a qualitatively new Latvian socialist national statehood—the rule-of-law state.

In the heated, tense political atmosphere we can often hear it being said that democracy is not total license. This is quite correct. Real democracy has nothing in common with total license. The process of democratization has no future unless it leads to a rule-of-law state. Unjustified claims have also been made in this context, especially in the polemics on interethnic relations. There is no cause for doubt. At the focus of the rule-of-law state there is the citizen and his constitutional rights and obligations.

A rule-of-law state must do both—legally guarantee the citizens' rights and freedoms and precisely define their liability for the abuse of rights or failure to meet their commitments. I am mentioning this not only because it is topical, but also to recall that Petr Stuchka, first head of government of Soviet Latvia, subsequently devoted his life to the creation of the jurisprudence of the first socialist state. As is known, back in 1918 he was Soviet Russia's people's commissar for justice. Seventy years have elapsed, yet Petr Stuchka's demand that ministry and department activities in the compilation of instructions and the creation of other legally enforceable regulations should be clearly defined, has lost none of its topicality.

Have we not begun restructuring by revoking the instructions which hamper renewal? The logical question arises—what are we going to replace them with? After all, if there is an instruction, there is no need to rack your brains about how to proceed; but on the other hand, if everything is excessively regulated, there is no room for creative effort, and consequently there are no results.

It is necessary to ensure the paramountcy of the law. That is to say, no act of executive organs, including decisions of the USSR Council of Ministers, can be at variance with the law, irrespective of whether it is a USSR or a union republic law. Naturally, such laws must be based on a scientific concept. This indispensable precondition must be observed right now during the compilation of amendments to the USSR Constitution and the new edition of the Latvian SSR Constitution.

Comrades!

The reform of the political system must not be divorced from the solution of the tasks of the large-scale restructuring of the economic mechanism. These are two sides of one and the same coin. V.I. Lenin's thesis that politics are a concentrated expression of economics is important in the conditions of our time also precisely because it expresses the reciprocal and inseparable link between the two aspects of restructuring.

For more than 40 years now the economy of Soviet Latvia has been functioning within the country's integrated national economic complex. Our republic occupies only 0.3 percent of the USSR's territory and its population accounts for only 0.9 percent of the state's total population. Despite its low specific weight, our republic's contribution to the USSR's national income and the volume of industrial production totals 1.2 percent, and 1.4 percent in the case of agricultural production.

In per capita national income Latvia occupies first place among the union republics, exceeding the union average by almost 28 percent. Our republic's economy is characterized by a relatively high quality of goods, standard of living, and level of employment. However, today it is no longer possible to ignore the shortcomings of economic development characteristic of the whole of our state during the postwar period.

Industrial production has outstripped agricultural production and the development of the material base of the social sphere several-fold. In connection with the extensive development of the economy, mechanical population growth in the republic has noticeably outstripped natural growth, and this has spawned a multitude of social problems.

There is also a chronic imbalance between effective demand and the volume of marketed goods and services. This situation leads to the lowering of the actual standard of living and exacerbates interethnic relations.

There has been a sharp deterioration in the quality of the environment. At present the republic treats only one-third of the effluent liable for treatment. The development of the chemical industry in violation of environmental protection norms has resulted in a strained ecological situation in Ventspils, Olaine, and other places.

This situation has developed largely because the republic lacks real independence in the management of economic activity. In order to ensure this independence it is necessary to switch the republic to economic accountability, and to restructure the economy and the social sphere in keeping with the principles of self-management and self-financing.

The economic independence of the republic must be based on the right to exert direct pressure by means of economic levers on all enterprises and organizations located on Latvia's territory.

The switch to republic economic accountability also presupposes the enhancement of the legal and economic independence of internal subdivisions (cities, rayons, settlements). It is essential here to ensure that within each administrative-territorial unit income covers expenditure. It follows from this that it is necessary to grant the right to make decisions at local level, proceeding from the principle that questions of economic and social development which can be solved at the level of local soviets should be resolved there. These fundamental principles have already been discussed at the USSR Council of Ministers, where our proposals, too, were heard. The draft law on republic self-management and self-financing will be published for broad discussion in the near future.

Understandably, the new political and economic situation will require new levels of skill and quality of work and thinking. The role of local soviets will change substantially. The slogan "All power to the soviets!" will finally be placed on an economic basis. [passage omitted]

Comrades!

The process of restructuring has only just started. We have to learn from bitter experience. Slogans, no matter how correct, have given us nothing. We cannot expect results unless we restructure ourselves. This is a painful process. It is necessary constantly to answer one and the same question—how effectively and honestly are we working. After all, it will be necessary more and more consistently to apply the principle—to each according to his labor. There is no room for confusion, and even less for complacency. Labor collectives in our republic are multinational. In the very near future the prosperity of our republic will depend solely on our labor. Therefore let us all, irrespective of our nationality, feel pride and responsibility for our republic, for the fate of Soviet Latvia whose foundations were laid 13 January 1919.

***Cooperation Between Latvian Fronts Suggested**
WA18000411 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA
in Russian 17 Jan 89 p 2

[Article by E. Govorushko: "For the Competition of Ideas"]

[Text] Oh, these news conferences! Often we don't understand why we go to them. Is it to satisfy a completely valid curiosity and gather material for a future article? To get into a long discussion, even though the organizers allow only an hour or an hour and a half?

I write this under the impressions of three news conferences with members of the Latvian International Front. I attended two of them; the third I followed closely on

television. And this is what I was thinking: isn't this why many of my colleagues got into the discussion, just to impress the television audience, to assert their failure to accept another point of view? Isn't this the origin of repetitious "cold" questions asked of the interview subject, followed by picturesque arm swinging, rather than natural gratitude for an answer? Isn't this the origin of questions that resonate with simple disrespect toward the opponent and opposition, receiving equally disrespectful answers?

Surprisingly enough, those most frequently guilty of this are the representatives of the so-called independent information agencies, for whom, it would seem, objectivity should be held above all else. There is a need for this reminder now, on the threshold of the Congress of the Latvian SSR Journalists Union, in order to give food for thought to its delegates and professional press workers.

Even before the constituent congress, when Interfront published the drafts of its documents in newspapers—a declaration and a charter—many noted that 80 percent (someone figured it out) of its program coincided with that of the Latvian People's Front [NFL]. On this basis, there is an exaggeration of the question: is it worth creating a new social organization over such insignificant differences? On this level, the new front is useless from the start, and therefore unnecessary.

I don't want to reproach Interfront's critics as not being realistic, I just want to say: let there be a variety of fronts in our social life, a variety of societies, including those of a national-cultural nature. The lack of progress in the socio-political sphere, the conscious hindrance of the masses' activities, will lead to stagnation, as we well know. So let there be movement forward, with restructuring, implemented by the Party. Let there be more socialism in the Leninist sense of the word, which both republic fronts support, judging by their programs' documents.

We have already had occasion to speak of the People's Front, created by the initiative of Latvia's creative intelligentsia, as well as the causes which brought to life Interfront, within whose framework gathered primarily representatives of the republic's non-natives. We reported on the Latvian people's forum, the motto of which is "Latvia—our common home". The detailed program put forward here consolidated all the healthy forces of society on the basis of general human morality and humanism. At the Latvian CP CC plenum, which took place on the eve of Interfront's constituent congress, it was emphasized that such forces comprise the overwhelming majority of the thrust of both movements. I hope that my colleagues from the republic press will understand that a monopoly on truth is unconstructive for both movements, that only a competition of ideas can beneficially affect the choice of a correct path.

Additionally, Latvian CP CC First Secretary Ya. Vagris noted that the republic has a "Helsinki-86" group, and a "Movement for the National Independence of Latvia", which doesn't suit the Latvian people. Their program declarations, and sometimes their actions, call for the gradual liquidation of the government structure of the Latvian SSR, rejecting its legitimacy. This leads to confrontation, threatening the future of restructuring.

Let me quote from the plenum speech of the "Banga" fishermen's kolkhoz member Mikelis Lisment, a man respected in the republic. "The birth of the Latvian People's Front bears witness to the real democratization of the country's social life," he said. "New movements are being created, new clubs... Yet some comrades' negative reaction to the creation of Interfront is incomprehensible... it is essentially the child of the People's Front, but is somehow unwanted by its mother."

As far as the constructive ideas promulgated by the Interfront constituent congress are concerned, it can be argued whether they were many or few in number. But there were some. The congressional delegates proposed a new approach to the resolution of the ecological problem of Veitspils, expressed their proposals for the projected law on the limitation of migration now being discussed in the republic, discussed the introduction of genuine bilingualism, the development of culture and national education. Interesting opinions were aired providing a realistic set of agricultural priorities, without infringing on the interests of industries producing consumer goods. The members of government and the Latvian CP CC secretariat present attending the congress listened attentively to many of the ideas and proposals.

Unfortunately, the Interfront constituent congress did not avoid the errors committed by the Latvian People's Front's constituent congress. In both cases, incorrect and sometimes extremist utterances reverberated through the hall, alienating many potential supporters. Some of those speaking at the Interfront congress were working with unreliable information, which did not lend any authority to the new movement. So, we all need to learn the culture of discussion, and ordinary cultured behavior, which is especially important now, under conditions of widespread glasnost. I note with satisfaction, however, that the members of the Interfront organizing committee gave the appropriate marks to such exclamations both at the congress and later at the news conferences.

The words of a guest from Klaypeda, worker Avgustin Klimka, stuck in my mind: "National feeling is fertile soil where grain can be sown to feed people sufficiently. But narcotic hemp can also grow in it, to stupefy the people...."

The calls for the two fronts' unification, heard at the congress, are perhaps still premature. But a consolidation of the healthy powers of both movements in the struggle with the bureaucrats and do-nothing attitudes is completely realistic. And much needed. Especially now,

as the struggle to renovate the councils begins. What can deter both groups from offering a single candidate, capable of extraordinary action and thought?

In conclusion, I cite the words of the Daugavpils delegate, Automation of Technological Planning director F. Ignatyev, who, while acknowledging the force of social action behind the meetings, nevertheless reminded the gathering, "It shouldn't be forgotten that bread and meat are the products of work's blisters, not verbal twaddle." In my opinion, this means that it's time for all social movements to begin concrete realization of their programs in close collaboration with the Party and all adherents of restructuring.

Last Saturday, local papers published an open letter of the republic council of the International Front of the workers of the Latvian SSR NFL Duma. Noting that while there exist differences of opinion and differences in the political interpretation of the events which occurred, and in events of the republic's past, there exist no impediments to working together for the good of the entire population of Latvia; the Interfront council proposes to the NFL Duma that a conciliatory committee be created with the purpose of developing ideas for a forum of the republic's peoples. The committee's tasks would include agreement on joint activity of NFL and Interfront in the interests of the entire population of the republic.

Lithuanian Party Election Platform Outlined
LD2801223889 Vilnius in English to North America
2300 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Today's press carries the appeal made by the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee to the Lithuanian nation. This is the party's election platform. [passage omitted]

The main item on the Lithuanian Communist Party's electoral platform is Lithuania's sovereignty in a political, economic, social, and cultural sense. How this goal is going to be achieved is discussed in several separate sections entitled: The Individual and the State, The Individual and the Party, The Individual and the Economy, and so on.

As can be seen from the titles alone the main emphasis is placed on the individual and his relationships with various institutions.

In the section The Individual and the State several points are raised, among them the necessity to create a law-governed state and to make radical changes in the existing relationships between the individual and the state. It is high time to reject the idea of the state being autocratic master of a patron. [passage omitted] The Lithuanian Supreme government bodies have been alerted to reorganize the activities of the judicial and

security bodies, with special attention on expanding human rights and freedoms, simultaneously guaranteeing the protection of state interests.

What is most characteristic of the section entitled The Individual and the Party is that it lacks the hackneyed formula of long decades in the past which read that the party is the guiding force of the society—instead it has been substituted by the following goal: In our fight for sovereignty, we will strive for an essential change in the status of the Lithuanian Communist Party by demanding that the Soviet Communist Party be based on the Leninist principles of federation. [passage omitted]

In the area of the church the Lithuanian Communist Party welcomed the thaw in mutual relations between the party and the church and supported the idea that this dialogue should be continued in the future.

The Lithuanian Communist Party's appeal to the Lithuanian nation gives in a concise form the following electoral program:

1. The new Lithuanian constitution should legalize the actual political, economic and cultural sovereignty of the republic.
2. As the state language, Lithuanian should occupy an unconditional place in the life of the nation, and every effort should be made to foster and develop it.
3. The principles of the environmental protection are prior to all industrial and ecological interests.
4. A new education system based on national values and economic interests should be created and introduced in Lithuanian schools at all levels.
5. Mutual understanding and respect should be the main principle governing the relationships between the state and the church.
6. Victims of Stalinist repressions should be morally and financially compensated.
7. Pluralism, democracy, and openness should be the cornerstones of our society.

Such is the electoral platform of the Lithuanian Communist Party during the forthcoming elections to the Soviet parliament.

Lithuanian Democratic Party Members Interviewed
LD2801225389 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America
0100 GMT 26 Jan 89

[From the "Facts and Comments" program: interview with (Petras Vaitiekunas) and (Saulius Peciliunas), representatives of the Lithuanian Democratic Party, by Vilnius radio commentator Virgilijus Liauskas—live]

[Text] [Liauska] At the end of last year a working group of the Lithuanian Democratic Party announced its existence. Here in our radio studio I am talking to (Petras Vaitiekunas) and (Saulius Peciliunas), representatives of the working group of the Democratic Party.

Today when we have the Lithuanian Reform Movement, Sajudis, is it necessary to have a party in Lithuania? What do you think? What are your motives, P. Vaitiekunas?

[(Vaitiekunas)] Sajudis emerged as a national liberation movement that practically engulfed all the citizens and social strata in Lithuania, beginning with the clergy and ending with the Communists. Such a broad movement is strongly atomized, representation of personal views is strongly felt in the Sajudis; it is the representation of one's self. Such decomposition, or I call it, atomization, in a critical situation will prevent it from adopting one definite decision. There are as many opinions as there are people. The Sajudis, it seems to me, should play the role more of a political parliament and the Lithuanian political forces should be represented in the Sajudis.

Socialization, reflecting the social structure of the republic, would be the first step toward making the Sajudis a political movement. The first steps in this direction are being made, but they are very slow, and perhaps inadequately coordinated. I have in mind the forthcoming Congress of Farmers. This will be the reflection of the working group in the Sajudis in the council, in real terms. The congress will inspire the emergence of numerous groups in Lithuania, as it was before the Sajudis congress.

At that time, groups emerged mainly in schools, cultural offices, institutes, and of course, in the factories, although these were not numerous.

[Liauska] The position is more or less clear. Perhaps you could say some words about your platform statements.

[(Vaitiekunas)] You mean party platform statements?

[Liauska] Yes, yes, about your party platform.

[(Vaitiekunas)] Our main objective is sovereignty and freedom for Lithuania. We strive for freedom by democratic means. We do not declare what the ideology is and what, according to our point of view, the state system should be. We simply maintain that the state system should be democratic and that the authorities should be

elected democratically. These are the two main principles. If it is going to be socialism or capitalism, or some other -ism, all these principally may turn out to be defective because we set ourselves an objective for some theoretical-ideological concepts without bothering if these are possible to achieve, as the Communists did. They simply pave their way with millions of victims.

[Liauska] A question for (Saulius Peciliunas). What is your point of view on the Lithuanian Communist Party?

[(Peciliunas)] In our point of view, a Lithuanian Communist Party, as such, is nonexistent in Lithuania at the moment.

In practical terms, it is a department of the CPSU in Lithuania, or you may call it a subunit. This means that this is not a self-governing Lithuanian Communist Party. We can say that nevertheless it is dependent on the center. Of course, we would welcome it if an independent Lithuanian Communist Party emerged because only when several independent political trends exist does political struggle become possible, in common struggle it is possible to reach a sensible decision.

[Liauska] Struggle, and perhaps, normal political life is necessary?

[(Peciliunas)] Yes, perhaps we should not interpret the word struggle as shaking fists. There should be a normal discussion in an attempt to clarify positions on both sides and only by way of argument discover which of the sides is more right and which side proposes the most correct way.

[Liauska] What are your short-term plans?

[(Peciliunas)] Well, the short-term plans are already being implemented. First of all, comes the press. We must first explain many of our issues to the public by means of the press. We must explain our main principle, what we aspire to and how we want to achieve it, so that the public has no uncertainties in the future.

At present there are many people willing to join the party, but we are not rushing this. First, we want to make up our main documents, our statutes, and make them public so that people will have a full understanding of what they are joining. We remember when the Sajudis was being organized. There also were many questions. What is it? What is it for? Members were admitted to the Sajudis practically without any selection. After a certain amount of time many people left the Sajudis. I have in mind those party members who found this or that idea promoted by the Sajudis unacceptable. Other organizations emerged, like the Jednosz [Russian- and Polish-speaking population of Lithuania].

[Liauska] So, to put it in a nutshell, you do not want that to happen?

[(Peciliunas)] No, we would not like to have that happen. We should like for people to know what kind of party this is, what it wants, and what means it will employ to achieve its aims, so that later there will be no cause for unnecessary theoretical discussions merely because of ignorance.

[(Vaitiekunas)] I would like to make an addition concerning the relation of the future Democratic Party with the Lithuanian League of Liberty. First of all, I would like to stress that the league has declared that it is not a party, it is an organization that declares the truth as an expression of the moral fight, the conscience of the nation.

The Lithuanian Democratic Party is a party in the full sense of the word. We want to set up an opposition to the Communists in power. We pledge to carry out our activities [words indistinct] within the framework of occupation laws.

The Sajudis: Why is the Sajudis not enough? The Sajudis does not name the main obstacle hampering our setting up a society governed by law and order and by democracy. This is the Communist Party, and in more general terms, the one-party system, which has frozen in its structure the social structure of our society.

[Liauska] When is your constituent conference going to take place?

[(Peciliunas)] This year, by all means. We will try to do this as early as possible. We have planned a certain compulsory number of participants and a compulsory number of groups in the republic.

[Liauska] Thank you for the talk.

'Yedinstvo' Movement Holds Vilnius Conference
LD2501161389 Vilnius in English to North America
2300 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Summary] Yesterday the "Yedinstvo" movement for perestroyka held its city conference in Vilnius. Generally the movement unites mostly the representatives of national minorities in Lithuania. So far it has not been popular.

It was held under the slogan: "All power to the soviet, the factories to the workers and the land to the farmers!"

The conference made attempts to define its links with the "Sajudis." The speakers stressed their readiness to consolidate efforts in search for joint actions for the "Sajudis" and other public organizations seeking for ways to renew the society and to humanize socialism.

The conference unanimously adopted a resolution on Lithuania's sovereignty and the draft program [of the "Yedinstvo"]. It also approved the resolutions on the participation in the election campaign. The resolution

on the Lithuanian language as the official language of this republic was not adopted because the proposed definitions were different. It was also demanded that historically established Lithuanian-Russian bilingualism be preserved and guarantees to be given for the rights of the Polish language in the districts that were mainly inhabited by Poles.

Brazauskas Speaks on Lithuanian Self-Reliance
LD2501161689 Vilnius in Lithuanian
to North America 0100 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] As we have already reported, last week the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee proposals to the CPSU Central Committee plenum concerning the improvement of nationality relations in the USSR were made public.

Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, speaking on the radio yesterday, said:

[Begin Brazauskas recording] The concept concerning various spheres of our life is clear, especially concerning the sovereignty of the republic in a broad sense. However, there are issues of a political nature. We consider that the CPSU Central Committee should voice its opinion concerning the events and treaties of 1939 between the USSR and the German Nazi leaders. This is something which causes us great concern.

Then there is the concept of the republic's economic self-reliance. Perhaps it was too difficult to include everything in such a document; however, opinions were voiced on the main principles.

We think that the public of the republic—competitive people, specialists and experts—could help us in rendering additional support, and additional proposals, because the plenum will take place in the spring and we still have time. We must carefully consider and weigh things up. The start we have made is not too bad. This may, of course, not be at all to the liking of some people. However, the truth is the truth. And if we are striving to set up a state governed by law, then each republic in the USSR must be a republic governed by law; Leninist principles of federation should be restored.

I believe that these proposals cannot be claimed as running counter to logic or be labelled as extremist, which would act against our good will or even against the general line of democratization of the USSR and the country's restructuring. There are no such propositions there. [end recording]

Algirdas Brazauskas also spoke about economic links with foreign countries, which are expected to expand.

[Begin Brazauskas recording] It is more important to us today that we, as a republic, should have a certain freedom for establishing economic links with foreign countries. This is what causes our concern most of all, and this is where most of our attention has been directed.

One of the most difficult issues today is that of hard currency resources which find their way into our enterprises and organizations or into the republican office of the Foreign Bank. These then become common, joint property of the USSR's hard currency resources.

We propose with full seriousness that the resources which we manage to accumulate while cooperating with foreign trading or industrial firms should remain in our bank, so that we can have these resources at our free disposal, so that we can give credits to other enterprises and organizations to renew technology, and in order to set up joint enterprises which would have their own primary capital. After all, there are absolutely realistic possibilities for Lithuania to receive credits on favorable terms from some West European banks. [end recording]

Algirdas Brazauskas also spoke briefly about the future election and growing democracy in the nomination of candidates for deputy posts.

[Begin brazauskas recording] We were taught to lead the election campaign in a different way, and I did this for long decades in a standard way. Now life has shown that these methods are completely unacceptable to us and we have to use the methods which have been legitimized in world practice. [end recording]

Belorussian Officials on Kuropaty Investigation *LD2701151789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian* *0130 GMT 27 Jan 89*

[Excerpts] The Belorussian Council of Ministers has adopted a decision on immortalizing the memory of the victims of the mass repressions of 1937-1941 in the Kuropaty tract of forest. [passage omitted]

More than 6 months have passed since this word, Kuropaty, exploded for the first time. And ever since, our anxious attention has been involuntarily drawn there, to this small plot of forest on the eastern outskirts of Minsk where 5 decades ago shots rang out every day. Whose? Who stood at the side of the communal grave and who pulled the trigger on the victims?

Leading investigators of the republican procuracy, KGB staff members, archive workers, and scientists have been looking for answers to these and to other questions, on the instructions of a government commission. A colossal amount of work has been carried out. Eight burial places have been opened up. Some 140 various expert examinations and studies, including also laser tests, have been carried out. Almost 200 witnesses have been found and questioned.

In a conversation with our correspondent Petr Makritskiy, chairman of the government commission and Nina Nikolayevna Mazay, deputy chairman of the Belorussian Council of Ministers, gave details of the investigation into those tragic events.

[Begin recording] [Makritskiy] Nina Nikolayevna, could you tell us at which conclusion the government commission has arrived in the course of the investigation?

[Mazay] On the basis of a very close, detailed analysis of the materials in the possession of the commission today, we have come to the conclusion that in the 1937-41 period mass shootings of Soviet citizens were indeed carried out in the Kuropaty forest tract. Today we can tell listeners this figure: no less than 30,000 people.

[Makritskiy] Tell us, please, (?to which) questions have you managed to find answers?

[Mazay] Unfortunately, for the time being, we have been unable to establish the identity of those who died, even though the commission has attempted to do this, using the most diverse forms and methods of work.

[Makritskiy] Will the government commission continue its work?

[Mazay] Inasmuch as I have already said, for the time being the commission has not established the identity of those who died nor the specific motives for the execution. The investigative group of the republic's procuracy has resumed its work and the commission will continue its work. Through the press, we have appealed to the inhabitants of the republic and to all citizens of our country who know anything about the events in Kuropaty to let us, the government commission, or the republic's procuracy, know. [end recording]

Earthquake Destroyed Armenian Towns To Be Rebuilt

Spitak Revival Plan Endorsed *LD2701221489 Moscow TASS in English 1810 GMT* *27 Jan 89*

[Text] Yerevan January 27 TASS—By TASS special correspondents Aleksey Agureyev and Pavel Shamrayev:

The Armenian town of Spitak, fully destroyed by an earthquake, will be built anew. "The first projects to be built will be two schools for 300 children who have not been evacuated," the TASS correspondents have been told by Pavel Asatryan, member of the regional earthquake headquarters. "The schools will be constructed two kilometres from the old town on the place where Spitak is to be built anew. All Spitak area villages are to be constructed anew on previous places."

The population of the town is now 6,000, said Asatryan, while it was 20,000 before the earthquake. The earthquake took a toll of 3,270 lives, and in the countryside—1,378. The rest were evacuated to different parts of Armenia, other regions of the Soviet Union. Russian Federation's regions will give assistance to Spitak area villages—one region to one village, and Spitak will be assisted by building organisations of Armenia, Uzbekistan and Estonia.

The Spitak revival masterplan has been endorsed. 3,000 houses for 12,000 people are to be built at the first stage. Spitak residents are now mainly residing in tents, since so far there are not enough prefabricated houses. Water supply and sewage systems are functioning in the town.

Commission To Track Progress

LD2801152389 Moscow TASS in English 1517 GMT
28 Jan 89

[Text] Yerevan January 28 TASS—At the regular working meeting of the commission of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, which was conducted today by Lev Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, the need was stressed for a better information of the public about the decisions taken.

The Commission made it incumbent upon heads of design and building organisations regularly to acquaint Armenia's residents with principal stages in the work being carried out, take into consideration people's opinions, widely using to this end republican mass media, radio and television.

The commission examined the specified timetable for the design work, proceeding from the task of enabling all organisations engaged in construction in disaster-stricken cities to begin work since February 1, 1989. For instance, a map of Leninakan divided into seismic micro-districts has already been drafted, which will make it possible to begin mass construction earlier than planned.

There are over 1,500 houses in northern Armenian cities, which can be re-occupied on condition that their constructions are reinforced and the houses themselves undergo an overhaul. Each such apartment block needs a draft of work to be carried out. The commission demanded that the job to make such drafts be expedited. In Kirovakan alone, the housing problem for 80,000 people could be tackled thanks to the re-building of the damaged houses.

The commission decided to examine regularly, at each of its meetings, progress in restoring specific towns, district centers, and worker settlements. The present meeting considered the revival of Kirovakan—building housing, schools, kindergartens, cultural and consumer service

institutions there, and residents' job placement. It adopted a decision to develop the Kirovakan railway station whose freight turnover should increase three-fold in the next few years.

Newspaper Supplement for Builders

LD2701093789 Moscow TASS in English 0910 GMT
27 Jan 89

[Text] Kirovakan January 27 TASS—A new newspaper has begun to be published in the quake-stricken Kirovakan. DRUZHBA (FRIENDSHIP) is a free supplement in the Russian language to the city newspaper KAITZ.

Thousands of rescuers, as well as builders from many cities came to Kirovakan. Along with the expansion of the scope of construction work the number of builders will be increased. This is why the need arose to circulate local information in Russian. The supplement began to be brought out on the initiative of the Kirovakan Party Committee. The first issue of DRUZHBA deals with the building of the new Kirovakan. It also carries materials about the assistance rendered to the city.

Armenian Interior Agencies Provide Security

LD2801190789 Moscow TASS in English 1729 GMT
28 Jan 89

[Text] Yerevan January 28 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksey Agureyev:

It is difficult to imagine that there would be no thefts or other crimes in any earthquake-hit town of any country with shops, banks and dwelling houses left without supervision. That also happened in Kirovakan, Armenia's second largest city, following a strong earthquake which hit it on December 7. But no grave crimes were committed there. This was stated today by Armenia's Interior Minister Usik Arutyunyan at a meeting of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo's earthquake relief commission.

The interior agencies are ensuring inviolability of flats and property of the people who had to leave their houses and flats when tremors occurred again. There were only six cases of personal property thefts, the minister said. As to crime statistics, the crime rate has not increased after the earthquake, as against the same periods in the past years. Criminal proceedings were instituted in 14 cases. Over 50 constant patrolling routes were organized in the city, and new state traffic inspection posts were installed.

472 out of 479 national economy structures were taken under protection, while material values were taken out from seven, the minister said. The service, which stands on guard of state property, is taking every step to prevent abuses in distributing commodities coming in as aid for earthquake victims from Soviet towns and abroad.

[Moscow domestic service in Russian at 1900 GMT on 28 January broadcasts a similar report, in which it adds the following: "Taking part in the meeting were: Comrade Voskanyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Comrade Markaryants, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers; Comrade Lobov, second secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; and Comrade Galoyan, secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee."]

Arutyunyan Meets NKAO Committee's Volkskiy
LD2801205189 Moscow TASS in English 2012 GMT
28 Jan 89

[Text] Yerevan January 28 TASS—First Secretary of the Central Committee of Armenia's Communist Party Suren Arutyunyan has had a meeting here today with chairman of the Nagorno-Karabakh Special Administration Committee, head of a CPSU Central Committee department, Arkadiy Volskiy.

In the course of the meeting Arkadiy Volskiy, speaking on behalf of the working people, the whole population of Nagorno-Karabakh, offered profound condolences with the people of Armenia in connection with the destructive earthquake which took a toll of thousands of human lives.

The meeting discussed questions of normalisation of the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, implementation of the CPSU Central Committee's and the USSR Council of Ministers' decision on socio-economic development of the autonomous region.

Emphasized at the meeting was the fundamental significance of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decree on temporary introduction in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region of a special form of administration, with the preservation of Nagorno-Karabakh's status as an autonomous region within the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic. The region is actually acquiring wide independence in solving economic, social, cultural and other problems and is getting a possibility of establishing close contacts with the all union republics.

It is necessary to establish broader socio-economic and cultural relations with Armenia to have the situation in the autonomous region and the area stabilized as soon as possible. A broad program of accelerated development of productive forces is planned to be carried out in Nagorno-Karabakh, and its own building industry facilities are to be established. Cultural relations between Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh are to grow wider, which will promote restructuring of activities of cultural institutions and lead to a fundamental improvement in activities of school and pre-school institutions of the autonomous region, successful solution of personnel training problem, provision of literature in the Armenian language, establishment of regular meetings between collectives of creative workers.

Speaking of the main tasks of the special administration committee and its first steps, Arkadiy Volskiy shared his considerations on measures for establishing self-independent cost-accounting associations, broad introduction of lease-based relations, a sharp rise in construction of housing facilities and other social welfare structures. The special administration committee will carry out its activities in close contact with party and Young Communist League leaders, local government and economic executives of the two republics.

It was noted that the responsibility of Armenia's and Azerbaijan's party organisations for normalisation of inter-ethnic relations, improvement of the political and ideological atmosphere in the region, for revival of traditional goodneighbourliness of the two peoples, creation of conditions for the return of people to the places of their permanent residence will grow even more, as measures are being taken through the all-union channels.

Profile of Armenian Party Secretary Serobyanyan
NC3001102489 Yerevan ARMENPRESS International
Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 23 Jan 89

[“Marat Avetik Serobyanyan, secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee”—ARMENPRES headline]

[Text] Yerevan, 23 Jan, ARMENPRES—Marat Avetik Serobyanyan was born in 1939 in Kirovakan in the Armenian SSR and is an Armenian. He has been a member of the CPSU since 1961. He has a higher education, having graduated from the mechanical department of the K. Marx Polytechnical Institute of Yerevan in 1966 and from the construction department in 1975.

From 1956 to 1959, Comrade M. A. Serobyanyan worked as a turner at the Kirovakan thread spinning factory. From 1959 to 1960 he was a locksmith at the Kirovakan “water pumps” office. From 1967 to 1968 he was construction engineer at Kirovakan's special “automated” construction bureau of the USSR Ministry of Machine Building and Automation. From 1968 to 1976 Comrade M. A. Serobyanyan worked as an engineer, senior engineer, team director of the chief mechanical division, and chief engineer on capital construction. From 1976 to 1984 he was the party committee secretary at the Kirovakan chemical factory of the USSR Ministry of Chemical industry and was the bearer of the Red Banner of Labor.

After 1984, Comrade M. A. Serobyanyan was the director of the Kirovakan chemical factory of the USSR Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production.

He is a recipient of a merit award.

More on Armenian-Azerbaijani Prosecutors Council

[For reportage on the establishment of the joint Armenian-Azerbaijani Council, see the Political & Social section of the 26 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pp 49-50]

PM3001095889 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN
in Russian 29 Jan 89 p 2

[TASS report: "Along the Path of Collaboration"]

[Text] Yerevan—The problem of refugees in Armenia and Azerbaijan remains acute, despite certain positive trends. The number of Armenians and Azerbaijanis who have left their places of permanent residence has now reached 300,000. This figure was cited at a conference of leaders of the Armenian SSR and Azerbaijan SSR Prosecutor's Offices held in Yerevan.

As the Armenian republican newspaper KOMMUNIST reported, the conference examined questions of close collaboration between the two republics' prosecutor's offices to ensure the protection of citizens' constitutional rights and freedoms.

It was decided to set up a coordinating council of representatives of the Armenian SSR and Azerbaijan SSR Prosecutor's Offices. Visiting sessions of the council will be held openly and in an atmosphere of glasnost in rayons and cities with a mixed population.

It was noted that the potential of the mass information and propaganda media for organizing publicity work among the population and nipping in the bud the various provocative rumors is not yet being utilized sufficiently actively and purposefully.

"The situation that has taken shape in the two republics is indicative of organized resistance by antirestructuring forces," S.S. Mailyan, deputy chief of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee State and Law Policy Department, told TASS correspondents. "We must wage the struggle against this phenomenon together."

New Azerbaijan Council of Ministers Chairman
NC2801085289 Baku Domestic Service in Armenian
0454 GMT 28 Jan 89

[From the republican press review]

[Text] According to a decree issued by the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Presidium, Comrade Ayaz Niyaz ogly Mutalibov has been appointed as chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers. According to the decree dated 27 January 1989, Comrade Seidov was relieved of his duties as chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers to retire for health reasons.

Baku Military Command Issues Notices on Situation

Measures Taken in Criminal Cases

NC2701121289 Baku Domestic Service in Russian
1000 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Notice from the military commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] The situation in the city is unchanged. During the past 24 hours, 116 persons and 22 automobiles, including 102 persons during curfew hours, have been detained for various violations.

(Nizami Bayram ogly Aslayev), unemployed, has been placed in detention for 15 days by administrative order for inflaming national discord by his actions and for violating public order.

Internal Affairs organs and the Procuracy are diligently continuing measures to bring criminal cases to trial. As reported to the military commandant of the Baku City Special District during the night of 10 to 11 December 1988, Mirza Musafer ogly Garibov, Mamed Imam ogly Mamedov, and Ergin Aydin ogly Kuliyeu, watchmen for the Internal Affairs Department in the 26 Baku Commissars Rayon, were detained for (?designing), manufacturing, and illegally possessing firearms. Following investigations by the USSR Procuracy team, it was established that these persons, while working as watchmen, [words indistinct] (?obtained) 5 gun barrels from which they made sawed off shotguns for the purpose of perpetrating assault. On 19 January this year, the People's Court of the 26 Baku Commissars Rayon found Garibov, Mamedov, and Kuliyeu guilty of the charges brought against them and sentenced them each to 3 years loss of liberty.

[Signed] Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District.

Situation Remains Calm 29 Jan

LD3001093389 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1900 GMT 29 Jan 89

[Text] Announcement by the military commandant of Baku City Special District:

The situation did not change in Baku on Sunday—it was calm.

[Signed] Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, military commandant of Baku City Special District.

Ukraine Farm Official Urges Improved Output
LD2301204689 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1125 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Kiev, 23 Jan (TASS)—TASS correspondent Petr Buchel reports:

By the start of this year, all kolkhozes and sovkhoses, and all enterprises of the agro-industrial complex of the Ukraine had transferred to full financial autonomy and self-financing. The majority of labor collectives see this as an incentive for raising labor productivity. However, there are enterprises which are not pleased: For them the state has been a "milch cow," which year after year has allocated them subsidies, enabling them to live well at others expense.

"From now on, we have done with this sinful practice that erodes the economy," Minister [as received] Viktor Sytnik, a leader of Ukraine's Agro-Industrial Committee said. "You've got to work well to live well."

The minister reported that financial autonomy and self-financing last year were tried in the Crimea, Chervostiy, and Ivano-Frankovsk Oblasts. All the enterprises worked better than before and obtained significantly greater profit. Their experience, he said, has been studied by other oblasts. With the help of scientists a great deal of preparatory work was carried out: Leaders and specialists underwent retraining, appropriate methodological materials were developed, and forthcoming tasks and the material and technical resources for performing them were determined.

The main feature of the innovation, in Viktor Sytnikov's view, is restructuring in the "upper echelons" of the agroprom and, as a result, a fundamental alteration in planning procedure. Instead of the many "directive" indicators on output sales and profit, enterprises have now been given control figures. There will be no more petty supervision or stream of instructions prescribing to agricultural workers how they should cultivate grain crops or breed livestock.

A good feature of the transformations in agricultural production is, the minister said, the fact that they embrace 80 percent of workers through forms of contracting. To these are assigned 94 percent of plowed land and more than 80 percent of livestock and poultry. Lease contracting has been introduced on the majority of kolkhozes and sovkhoses, and more than 700,000 people are working on principles of family and individual contracting.

The minister noted, however, that for the moment only half the farms are profitable enough to work comfortably in the new conditions. The remainder produce little profit, and 170 make a loss. They are initially to be given aid from the central funds of the agro-industrial complex in the form of differentiated increases on purchasing costs of agricultural produce and of budget allocations and extended deadlines for paying off bank loans.

"It goes without saying, Viktor Sytnik stressed, that such aid will not be provided indefinitely. Farms that are unable in the next few years to improve their production and economic results will be handed over to strong neighbors or to industrial enterprises."

Committee To Protect Volga Ecology Established
PM2301132589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 20 Jan 89 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Let Us Help the Great River: On SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA's Initiative a Public Committee To Save the Volga Is Being Set Up"]

[Text] Alarming reports about the great Russian river's environmental problems have been coming in not only from Tolyatti [this edition of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries a report from Tolyatti on the Volga's environmental problems] but from many other cities in the Volga region. In the past 18 months SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA has written about this many times. The high level of chemical pollution of the water, the poisoning of fish, the destruction of the banks, the disappearance of small rivers, the flooding and partial submerging of very rich lands, and the destruction of historical, cultural, and natural monuments—these and many other negative consequences of unwise economic management require vigorous and well organized actions. The Tolyatti initiative is one of many. SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA has already reported on the decision of a session of the Astrakhan Oblast Soviet directed against the construction of the Volga-Chogray Canal, on public protests demonstrating the harm caused by the construction of the Volga-Don II Canal, and on many other environmental actions.

The Tolyatti appeal to join forces in the struggle for a clean Volga is understood and appreciated by everyone who refuses to accept the river's degradation. Success can only be achieved by joint actions. It is that which prompted SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA journalists to suggest around 2 months ago to their colleagues from all oblasts and autonomous republics along the Volga—from Kalinin to Astrakhan—as well as to scientists, writers, lawyers, cultural figures, and party and soviet workers that they join forces to save the great river. The suggestion was supported. It has been decided to form the Public Committee to Save the Volga. Similar suggestions have appeared frequently in letters to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, some of which have been published. The constituent conference will be held at the end of January. A conference preparation action group is operating under the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA editorial office.

Yesterday a routine working conference was held, which discussed the draft program and draft statutes of the public committee as well as other documents which will be presented to the constituent conference.

The editorial board invites all who cherish the Volga to send in their views on various aspects of the future committee's activity.

We await your suggestions, advice, and letters. Everything of value expressed by our readers will be studied and considered without fail and will help to fashion a thorough and comprehensive program of activity.

Tatar-Bashkir 'Union Republic' Proposal Rejected
PM2601093589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Jan 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by writer Rafael Mustafin: "Considering The Map. The USSR—Our Common Home"]

[Text] Kazan—In the past 2-3 years, aside from the processes of democratization, widening of glasnost, economic restructuring, and reform of the political system, another important process has been taking place in our country, one associated with these changes. I would call it a dramatic intensification of national consciousness. In Kazan, for example, a whole series of informal associations has sprung up, whose aims and tasks are primarily ethnical in nature. There is the Public Center, the Mardzhani society, the "Tugan Yak" ("Fatherland"), "Bulgar el Dzhandid" ("New Bolgar"), "Saf Islam," and others. Nearly every week there are meetings, rallies, and inaugural congresses at which tumultuous debates break out and all manner of declarations and resolutions are adopted.

Not everyone likes this, of course. Some murmur: Look, they have let the "nationals" (or even "nationalists") loose. Goodness knows what they'll say next. How different it was before—quiet and peaceful. Isn't it time they were reined in?

You will always find those who want to rein people in. But is it a matter of excessive freedom? Freedom can never be excessive. Either it exists or it does not exist. The point is that many complexities have accumulated around this question. They have accumulated over the long decades when we were accustomed to talking about ethnic relations as one would of the dead: well, or not at all. The time of strictly metered truths—this is OK; not a word about that—is now passing. Someone who is concerned about his people's destiny and about the future of his ethnic culture and native language is not automatically tagged "nationalist" or even "bourgeois" any more. We know what rivers of blood this approach has cost our people.

Nevertheless... when you hear speeches by certain ardent orators, drunk on their own audacity, and when you read the resolutions that are flooding into the Kazan City Soviet interethnic relations commission, you can't help wondering: Is there any sense in freedom without a sense of responsibility? At what point does freedom turn into license?

I have in front of me a declaration adopted at a meeting of "informals" in Naberezhnyye Chelny and, to all appearances, widely distributed. Its authors, who call

themselves an "action group," are advocating the unification of the Tatar and Bashkir Autonomous Republics in a single union republic, no less. What are their arguments? "The effective merging of Tatars and Bashkirs in a single nation (?)... Common origin (?), their languages, culture... a common economy, based on oil extraction, oil refining, and motor vehicle construction..." The declaration ends with an appeal to all "who cherish the interests of the Tatar and Bashkir peoples to back these just demands" and "adopt all the requisite measures to put them into practice."

One would like to ask these self-styled sponsors: But have you asked the Bashkirs themselves? Who gave you the right to speak for another people, let alone erase and deny its distinctive character?

The authors of other resolutions, obviously feeling that this stance is shaky, merely target... western regions of Bashkiria, where the Tatar population is concentrated. There are others who, for the purpose of "consolidating the great Tatar people," propose that border areas of the Mari, Chuvash, and Udmurt ASSR's and a considerable part of Ulyanovsk, Kuybyshev, Orenburg, and other neighboring oblasts should join the Tatar Republic.

During rallies and meetings I have noticed that by no means everyone agrees with the extremist demands. But they dare not speak openly and frankly—you don't want to be tagged reactionary and conservative, or even an "enemy of the nation." Representatives of official organizations and party figures also prefer to keep mum: still no orders from above...

But do we have to wait for such instructions? Are we not capable of deciding for ourselves what elements in speeches and proposals are just and what can only do harm? Reciprocal territorial claims, even if outwardly they appear to be entirely just (from the historical, demographic, or economic viewpoint), have one perfidious quality: They do not contribute to trust and mutual understanding among peoples. Once you have stepped onto the slippery slope, insoluble difficulties immediately arise and mutual reproaches and just and unjust claims begin...

Do we not have enough bitter experience from the Nagorno-Karabakh events? Are the mothers' tears, the children's suffering, the blood, and the thousands upon thousands of refugees deprived of their homes and without a roof over their heads not enough?..

Who is the enemy who is trying to destroy the edifice of the peoples' friendship and multinational unity that took the efforts of so many generations to build? The enemy is invisible, but entirely concrete: ethnic blindness, unpredictable outbursts of ethnic (and sometimes nationalistic) sentiment which cloud reason. And it is no longer so

important who has more rights and who has fewer. Ethnic enmity is like a forest fire. Once it has broken out the fire sustains itself, finding more and more material to feed on.

Let us imagine for a moment that the boldest or, rather, most aggressive proposals are adopted and the map of our homeland is radically redrawn. Even in such a purely hypothetical case, at best 50 percent of the country's Tatar population would be brought together under the auspices of a "greater Tataria." (At the moment only one-fourth of the Tatars live in the autonomous republic). And what about the other half—the Tatars living in the central Asian republics, Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, Donetsk, and other cities and population centers? What about the many tens and hundreds of thousands of Russians, Ukrainians, Armenians, Georgians, Azerbaijanis, Chuvashes, Jews, and representatives of other peoples living outside their national areas?

Let us make a brief excursion into the past. From the very first years of Soviet power the principle of territorial autonomy has been combined with the principle of cultural autonomy primarily for those living inside their own national republics. Newspapers in the languages of ethnic minorities have been published in many of the countries' cities, ethnic theater and amateur performers' collectives have existed, there have been radio broadcasts, and ethnic minorities departments have existed in party committees.

Before the war a Tatar-language paper, SOTSIALIZM YULY (PATH OF SOCIALISM) was published in Sverdlovsk, there was a Tatar professional theater, there was a ethnic library, and there was a Tatar teaching college training cadres for the numerous Tatar schools spread all over the oblast. The Sverdlovsk radio committee conducted regular broadcasts in Tatar. The situation was more or less the same in other RSFSR oblasts with large Tatar populations.

During the war all these ethnic publications and institutions were closed and they were not revived after the war.

The situation must not be embellished or artificially dramatized. We must face the truth squarely, approach national problems constructively, and together seek ways out of the difficult situation. The main thing, in my view, is to presuppose that the USSR is our common home. A home in which people of different nationalities are living and working on an equal basis. None of them should be allowed to feel hard put or to feel that their national rights and needs have been infringed. They must all have the opportunity to satisfy their cultural (and, if necessary, religious) needs in their native language.

The fact that these problems can be resolved given a calm, thoughtful approach is demonstrated by the following example. For many years Kazan used to receive letters from Tatars in Central Asia, Siberia, the Far East,

and western oblasts of the country, complaining that it was not possible for them to hear Tatar radio broadcasts. Indeed, our radio center, like the radio stations in the other autonomous republics, was broadcasting only on medium and long wave. The area of reliable reception in these wavebands is rather limited and does not even cover the whole of Tataria. After the interethnic relations commission put the question point-blank, so to speak, the autonomous republic's Council of Ministers was able to allocate R5 million from the local budget for the construction of a shortwave radio transmitter in Kazan.

Another example. At the request of television studios in neighboring cities and republics with large Tatar populations, Tataria television sends them video recordings of concerts by our artistes, literary programs, and shows in the native language. In turn, programs in other languages have started to be shown on Tatar television. For example, the republic's Chuvash population has expressed sincere gratitude for the cycle of broadcasts in Chuvash that has begun. Recently a television course began for people studying Tatar independently, the broadcasts being relayed to neighboring oblasts and republics. As we can see, given a constructive approach, a solution can be found.

The interethnic relations commission has received numerous reports of the creation of ethnic amateur collectives, people's (and semiprofessional) theaters, groups, and circles for native language study in particular krays, oblasts, and republics with Tatar populations. Of course, this gives rise to new problems: Who is to take charge of all this, direct it, and give assistance? For example, such matters as the opening of Tatar schools or the teaching of the native language in Russian schools—according to the wishes of parents and the students themselves—cannot be resolved by "amateur" means. Clearly, it would be a good idea to consider setting up ethnic departments at local soviets—proportionally representing the various peoples populating the particular area. One often hears proposals on reviving (or creating where they have not existed before) ethnic rayons, okrugs, and rural soviets.

The whole problem of ethnic relations must be looked at in broader terms. It is not enough to make a constitutional proclamation of equal rights for all the peoples, which is all we have done so far. It is also necessary to create the material prerequisites for the practical implementation of these rights. What, for example, prompted the proposals about creating a new union republic? The substantial inequality of social, political, and economic rights between union and autonomous areas. Both in terms of population and in terms of industrial potential Tataria surpasses some union republics. But we do not have our own feature film studio, we have only one, not very big publishing house, and there is an acute shortage of paper for the publication of books, newspapers, and journals.

Practice shows that the sense of ethnic frustration is a breeding ground for separatist and nationalist feelings. The bacilli of national egotism, arrogance, and conceit—extremism even—multiply rapidly in such a "soup." I believe this was the "fermenting" agent for the events in Nagorno-Karabakh and other ethnically motivated excesses. So it is not enough to condemn the consequences—the causes have to be eliminated.

With the strengthening and consistent implementation of the principle of cultural and ethnic self-determination, it seems to me, many grudges and grievances disappear of their own accord. There is in the hearts of my people and of all the peoples of our country a feeling of fraternity, internationalism, and friendship among peoples which is imbibed with their mother's milk. This feeling is not normally declared aloud and it is certainly not publicized. But the fact that the feeling is alive and well today is demonstrated by all Soviet people's reaction to the tragedy in Armenia.

I sincerely believe that the ethnic problems that accumulated during the stagnation years can and must be resolved. But not through mutual recriminations and the reshaping of the country's territory, but in a measured, constructive manner, gradually clearing away the obstacles that have accumulated. And let us not forget the main point: We must cherish Leninist traditions, internationalism, and the friendship of the peoples.

Kirghiz Presidium Relieves, Appoints Officials

Ponomarev Retires From Council Post
LD2501170489 *Frunze SOVETIK KYRGYSTAN*
in Kirghiz 17 Jan 89 p 4

[Text] The Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has released Comrade Oleg Borisovich Ponomarev from his duties as deputy chairman of the KiSSR Council of Ministers in connection with his retirement on pension.

Iordan Released From Transport Post
LD2501170689 *Frunze SOVETIK KYRGYSTAN*
in Kirghiz 17 Jan 89 p 1

[Text] The Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has released Comrade Andrey Andreyevich Iordan from his duties as chairman of the Kirghiz SSR State Committee for Transport and Motor Roads in connection with his transfer to another post.

Iordan Takes Council Post
LD2501170789 *Frunze SOVETIK KYRGYSTAN*
in Kirghiz 17 Jan 89 p 1

[Text] The Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has decreed that to appoint Comrade Andrey Andreyevich Iordan as deputy chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers.

T. Akmatov, chairman of the KiSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

A. Mirzaliyeva, secretary of the KiSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

City of Frunze, 16 Jan 1989.

Security Chief Ryabokon Transferred
LD2501170589 *Frunze SOVETIK KYRGYSTAN*
in Kirghiz 17 Jan 89 p 4

[Text] The Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has released Comrade Vladimir Aleksandrovich Ryabokon from his duties as chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Committee for State Security in connection with his transfer to another job.

Dzhumabek Assumes Security Post
LD2501170889 *Frunze SOVETIK KYRGYSTAN*
in Kirghiz 17 Jan 89 p 1

[Text] The Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has decreed that to appoint Comrade Dzhumabek Asankulov as chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Committee for State Security.

T. Akmatov, chairman of the KiSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

A. Mirzaliyeva, secretary of the KiSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

City of Frunze, 16 Jan 1989.

New Cases of 'Poisoning' at Orenburg Gasworks
PM2601102189 *Moscow SOVETSKAYA*
ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Jan 89 Second Edition p 6

[Own correspondent A. Usoltsev article under the rubric "Environmental Situation": "Hostages of a Gas Cloud: Report From Orenburg"]

[Text] On May 5 last year SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA told readers about an accident at the Orenburg gasworks ("Long Expected Disaster"). On 26 April, as a result of a breach of procedure, there was a major discharge of harmful substances into the atmosphere which poisoned many people in the village of Muzhichya Pavlovka. The leaders of the USSR Ministry of the Gas Industry's "Orenburggazprom" association assured the public at that time that proper measures had been taken to prevent a recurrence. Unfortunately these proved to be mere words. We have just heard from Orenburg that the population of Muzhichya Pavlovka is again in distress.

We contacted the Orenburg Oblast health and epidemiological center. V. Pyanov, head of the health and hygiene department, told us:

"In the past few days in Muzhichya Pavlovka there have been two cases of large-scale sulfur dioxide poisoning. The first incident occurred during the night of 10-11 January when a compressor at one of the installations at the second phase of the gasworks failed. In the morning a succession of people began arriving at the hospital. Seven were diagnosed as 'poisoned.' True, the day passed without anybody being hospitalized. But an occurrence on January 14 was more serious. This time 21 people in Muzhichya Pavlovka were poisoned and 13 of them were hospitalized. In addition, the casualties included nine children of school and preschool age."

Right after the first poisoning incident people in Muzhichya Pavlovka phoned the gasworks and said: Do something about it! An amount of harmful substances considerably in excess of the maximum permissible concentration was registered by the air monitoring station here. On 12 January N. Vereshchagin, the oblast's chief health inspector, passed a resolution to stop the operation of a section of the equipment at the second phase of the gasworks. He demanded a 30-percent reduction in the installations' output. However, plant director V. Vakulin and chief engineer V. Nasteka did not accept the order. Nor did they carry out the instruction of their own ministry, which requires them to shut down the gasworks installations in the event of unfavorable atmospheric conditions when a "cloud" of gas covers Muzhichya Pavlovka and other nearby villages.

Thus there was another major gas poisoning incident. On 14 January the plant "breathed" so heavily on the village that many dozens of people were affected. The health service, which made a house-to-house check in Muzhichya Pavlovka, questioned 502 residents. Some 252 people complained of weakness, headaches, and vomiting...

On the basis of this emergency the oblast's health and epidemiology center passed another resolution—to halt the operation of all installations at the gasworks' second phase and a production line in the first phase, where gas-scrubbing equipment has still not been commissioned. That is the same equipment which, according to the environmental protection measures approved by the ministry, the plant was supposed to have introduced back in December of last year. On Monday January 16 the new resolution from the oblast's chief health inspector went into effect but has still not been implemented by the enterprise management. All sorts of ploys are being used. V. Gizbrekht, chief of the Orenburg Oblast Prosecutor's Office investigations department, told us that at a conference at the oblast prosecutor's office to examine the latest case of large scale poisoning by natural gas B. Speranskiy, chief of the "Orenburggazprom" Association, stated: "The plant cannot be halted immediately. That would pose a danger of even greater discharges. Production must be wound down gradually."

But after the incident in April last year the USSR Ministry of the Gas Industry approved measures to normalize the environmental, health, and hygiene situation in the area of the Orenburg gasworks. B. Speranskiy

reported to a session of the oblast soviet in June on the same matter. He assured deputies that the harmful discharges would be stopped straightaway. And he promised to move Muzhichya Pavlovka to a safe new location. The "Orenburggazprom" leader did not spare the fine words on that occasion: The fate of the gasworks' fourth phase was being decided and the monitoring services would not approve the plan for new construction until the environmental sins of the first three phases had been corrected. Clearly, Speranskiy's "sensitive" mission worked and the plan for the construction of the fourth phase was signed. Progress in the construction of the gas scrubbing installations was poor and they failed to meet the commissioning deadline. And the resettlement of the residents of Muzhichya Pavlovka has been postponed to 1991.

"The residents of Muzhichya Pavlovka must be resettled immediately," A. Kulikov, chairman of the oblast nature protection committee, believes. A. Akolzin, chairman of Pavloskiy rural soviet, entirely agrees with him. During our last meeting, 1 month before the latest emergency, Anatoliy Aleksandrovich said that people's patience is at an end and that the entire village intends going to Orenburg to demand urgent measures.

Clearly it is also time for the oblispolkom and its chairman, A. Kostenyuk, to use their power. Why, for example, is the oblast health and epidemiological center's resolution to halt production activities harmful to people being ignored? When will the oblast prosecutor's office comment? The investigation into the criminal case which began back after last April's accident can in no way end here.

Resettlement of Villagers

PM2601164389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 25 Jan 89 Second Edition p 1

[Text] The measures taken by the USSR Ministry of the Gas Industry and the "Orenburggazprom" association to safeguard the purity of the environment proved ineffective and failed to prevent a repetition of the poisoning of the residents of Pavlovka village. SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carried reports on this in its issues of May 4 and May 5 last year and January 18 this year.

Pavlovka village is in the immediate vicinity of a gasworks. Any breach of procedure at the enterprise results in an increase in the concentration of sulfur dioxide in the atmosphere beyond the maximum permissible limit.

In this situation the soviet ispolkom has taken a firm step in the interests of protecting people's health: It has decided that the residents will be resettled. An oblispolkom operations group has been set up and is at work. Your TASS correspondent met with A. Kokorin, leader of the group and deputy chairman of the oblispolkom.

[Correspondent] Anatoliy Matveyevich, who is in the operations group and what is it supposed to do?

[Kokorin] The group consists of representatives of the "Orenburggazprom" association, the oblast agro-industrial committee, Orenburgskiy rural rayon, health and justice agencies, and the main economic planning administration—in other words, those who will be able to do the job promptly. A meeting was held in the village at which the decision to leave was made. The group visited Pavlovka and made decisions on all the questions that arose there. It had to be established who wanted to go where. More than 40 kolkhozes and sovkhozes in 7 nearby rayons offered places to the people from Pavlovka. Housing and work await them there. The "Zarya" kolkhoz in Sakmanskii rayon, for instance, is allocating 15 3-room apartments and the kolkhoz named for Chkalov in Perevolotskiy rayon is offering 3 1-room apartments.... The possibility of apartments in Orenburg itself is not ruled out. In all, 355 families must be resettled of whom 194 are kolkhoz members and 142 are those of workers and employees.

The association has set up four commissions which are carrying out a house-to-house check and concluding contracts on the payment of compensation for the affected buildings in accordance with the law. Some other villages have been allocated—Samorodovo and Podgorodnyaya Pokrovka—where children will continue their education. Questions of providing work for teachers and medical workers are being resolved.

[Correspondent] What will happen to the kolkhoz and its land and livestock?

[Kokorin] A general meeting of the kolkhoz named for Kobozev decided to close it. Part of the land is being transferred to other farms in the rayon. The remainder—more than 3,000 hectares of plowland, 1,500 head of cattle, including 600 cows, and equipment, depots, and buildings—is being transferred to the gas industry workers—they are going to set up a subsidiary farm here. The housing will be pulled down—the materials will be used elsewhere and the decrepit buildings will be demolished.

[Correspondent] The resettlement was scheduled for 1991 and it was planned to build a new settlement in a designated area. Does that mean that this will not take place?

[Kokorin] No, the "Orenburggazprom" association promises to build an urban-type settlement and houses with every amenity. And the Pavlovka people have expressed a desire to return to their homes and to live together.

The gasworks' capacity has now been restricted: Output at the first and second phases has now been cut by 1 million cubic meters of gas per hour.

TV Shows 'Memorial' Constituent Conference
LD2901165189 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1215 GMT 29 Jan 89

[Presented by A. Politkovskiy; for earlier reportage on the "Memorial" Conference, see the Political & Social Section of the 25 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pp 55-56]

[Text] The constituent conference of the all-union voluntary historical and educational society "Memorial" is completing its work today. During a duty visit we made to Vorkuta we were surprised to discover that the first commemorative symbol to the victims of the repressions had been put up there, in Vorkuta. A monument will be erected shortly in that place:

[Begin recording of unidentified man] Vorkuta is a special city, it is a symbol of the Gulag, a symbol of the terror of the 1930's - 1950's. Tens of thousands of innocent people met their end here. They were not able to fulfill their lives, they were not able to do those things for which they were born, they were unable to write poetry, to make scientific discoveries, they were unable to discover deposits, to bear children and educate them. [video shows emblem on pedestal with plaque, man addressing open-air meeting] [end recording]

[Politkovskiy] We now show you pictures taken at the opening of the constituent conference of the society:

[Begin recording] [M.A. Ulyanov, USSR people's artist, identified by screen caption] The plague roamed throughout Europe and destroyed hundreds and hundreds of thousands of innocent people. People did not know how to fight the plague. They only appealed to God and placed their hopes only in His will. But that will was not enough and today the whole of Europe is covered with monuments to the plague. Something of that kind also took place where our country is concerned, only this was not the plague but Stalinism and Stalin's rule. It was lawlessness. And one would like to believe and one would like to hope that we have begun to recover and that the moral and spiritual soul of the people has started to straighten itself out, to feel its own strength, to feel its own importance and to feel its own power. And when years and years have gone by, may it be that the monuments to the victims of that terror—and nothing else—are the only things to remain of Stalin's rule. [applause] [video shows the scene at the constituent conference of the Memorial association as Ulyanov addresses it; a panning shot of the platform shows Academician Sakharov in one of the places]

[G.YA. Baklanov, writer, identified by screen caption] I want to say that Stalinism is not the past: Stalinism is the present, too. It is living among us. And we encounter it every day. And what we have ahead of us is a very complicated and very lengthy struggle. And it is not just a struggle against specific manifestations. It is also a struggle against what Stalinism has engendered within us

ourselves. Recently, at a soiree of the ZNAMYA magazine Roy Medvedev gave the figure of 36 million as the number of people who were repressed. He says that he has obtained these precise figures, and that they will be published. And even if they are published we still haven't counted up all the misfortunes that were brought by Stalinism, that were implanted in people's hearts and left there for generations to come. We must win the struggle for the present generation of young people and future generations, so that no willingness to accept Stalinism remains in their souls. [applause] [video shows Baklanov addressing the constituent conference; a shot of the audience shows Yelena Bonner, Sakharov's wife, seated there]

[Academician A.D. Sakharov, identified by screen caption] Today's event is very important for the Memorial Society and we have been waiting for it for a very long time. It seems to me that despite a certain haste in the adoption of the rules, that is to say in the discussion of them, on the whole it has to be said that the discussion took place on a business-like level, and the fact that the rules have been adopted seems to me to be a very great achievement. [video shows Academician Sakharov, seated with his wife, speaking into an unidentified correspondent's hand-held microphone. On the wall behind Sakharov is a noticeboard to which documents are pinned under the heading: "Program of Academician A.D. Sakharov." Another notice in black print reads: "The new telephone number of the Memorial organization is 151 45 31. Ulitsa Chernyakhovskogo, 3." [end recording]

Procuracy Official Explains Decree on Repressions

LD2801053589 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 27 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on supplementary measures to restore justice in relation to victims of the repressions of the thirties, forties, and early fifties was passed on 16 January 1988. Our correspondent interviewed Vladimir Ivanovich Andreyev, member of the collegium of the USSR procurator's office.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Vladimir Ivanovich, we know that active work on the rehabilitation of the victims of Stalinism began in our country immediately after the 20th party congress. Why is there a need to return to this issue now?

[Andreyev] Unfortunately, in the mid-sixties the process virtually came to a halt. What was the reason for that? I think we can explain it by the fact that people stopped believing in the truth, in justice. And probably the main reason is also that people stopped believing that they were legally protected. Then after the October plenum in 1987, when the plenum set the task of rehabilitating all

innocent persons who had been subjected to repression, the procurator's office became active. Special subsections of the office were set up, and, as you know a Politburo commission was formed, which deals with these matters.

[Correspondent] In those times, the relatives of the victims of repression sometimes received a document which said something like: Your relative has been convicted by a decision of a special conference held on such and such a date. What sort of special conference was that, and what was special about it?

[Andreyev] Indeed, there were courts, judicial bodies, in those times which decided questions, and many of them really did decide them correctly. But these other organizations were also set up: groups of two or three, special conferences and collegia of the OGPU [precursor of KGB in Stalin era] which made their decisions without the participation of the parties concerned, without the participation of the defense. The distinguishing feature of those conferences—of the threesomes, as they were called—seems to have been that they were the height of illegality.

[Correspondent] Does the decree apply to everyone?

[Andreyev] As a rule, the decree does not apply to traitors and members of punitive squads [karatel] in the period of the Great Patriotic War. It also does not apply to Nazi criminals, members of nationalist gangs and their accomplices, or persons who committed deliberate crimes punishable under the general criminal law. In addition, the decree does not apply to officials who falsified such cases.

[Correspondent] Under this decree, Vladimir Ivanovich, material losses incurred by the victims of repression will be made good and their rights and interests safeguarded. What are those rights and interests, and how will this work out in practice?

[Andreyev] By an act of rehabilitation we mean not just restoration of the good name of a person who was illegally subjected to repression and suffered innocently, but also acknowledgement that the accusations made against him were unfounded and simply slanderous. But that is not all. We are also deciding questions of compensation for material losses occasioned as a result of illegal actions. We are deciding the question of paying benefits and pensions, restoring the person's labor record and length of service, and also of returning documents and awards. So, there are a great many matters that have to be dealt with in connection with this.

I would like to draw attention—special attention—to the fact that the Supreme Soviet Presidium has instructed the soviets of people's deputies to ensure that the necessary assistance is given to those who have been rehabilitated, so that they may exercise their rights and interests, and to erect monuments to the victims of

repression. Special commissions will be set up for this purpose in the Supreme Soviets of the union republics, autonomous republics, krais and oblasts, and cities; their membership will, of course, include representatives of public groups, representatives of the public. But it is the soviets, the soviets of people's deputies, that will, on the recommendation of the commissions, decide all questions connected with creating memorials to the victims of repression.

[Correspondent] What do you see as the guarantee that such things will not happen again?

[Andreyev] Well, first of all I would say that all these processes that are taking place in our country—restoration of historical truth and justice, expansion of democracy and expansion of glasnost—this is the guarantee that the tragic past of our history will never be repeated. [video shows studio interview] [end recording]

Procuracy Official Supports Capital Punishment
LD2601221989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1530 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Excerpts] We discuss the draft guidelines for the USSR's criminal legislation. Our correspondent Anatoliy Fedorov invited Sergey Anisimovich Samoylov, head of the Department of the Systematization and Propaganda of Soviet legislation of the USSR Procuracy, to speak.

[Fedorov] Sergey Anisimovich, I would like to touch on what is perhaps one of the most important questions: the use of capital punishment. Among scientists and well-known public figures, and probably among workers in the field, there are no few supporters of the abolition of this punishment. What is the USSR Procuracy's position on this question? Your department is compiling the proposals for procuracy officials on the draft guidelines to draw general conclusions and prepare unified proposals.

[Samoylov] Yes, proposals are coming in to us. There are many observations about the draft. But among those that have come in, there are no proposals to abolish capital punishment. And there are no such proposals coming into the USSR Procuracy from individual citizens. On the contrary, letters are coming in proposing that punishments should be more severe.

[Fedorov] But how can these proposals be harmonized with the principles of increased humanitarianism set out in the draft guidelines?

[Samoylov] They are fully in harmony with them, because the proposals concern intensifying struggle against severe crimes, and the draft guidelines are not aimed at weakening the fight against crime. The proposals to increase the humanitarianism of Soviet criminal

legislation set out in this document reflect the overall process of the democratization in our society and of raising the level of attention and respect paid to the individual.

[Fedorov] Sergey Anisimovich, let us return to the position of the main law enforcing department of the country—the USSR Procuracy—on the question of capital punishment.

[Samoylov] I am not empowered to speak on behalf of the USSR Procuracy, all the more so because the proposals have not yet been coordinated and have not been discussed with the leadership of the Procuracy. But, as to my own personal opinion—and it reflects the opinion of all the many Procuracy officials with whom I have discussed this problem when our comrades took part in the preparation of the draft guidelines—this opinion is unambiguous; capital punishment must be preserved for individual, particularly severe crimes.

We have not yet reached the level of development where such a severe form of punishment can be renounced for committing such a crime as deliberate murder with aggravating circumstances. This is all the more so because there are no signs that the number of such crimes is decreasing. On the contrary, in 1988 alone, compared with 1987, these crimes increased by 14 percent and are at the same numerical level as 20 years ago.

[passage omitted]

The danger lies in the fact that mass murderers still exist and commit terrible crimes, counting on the leniency which we sometimes show totally without grounds. Leniency toward the criminal is very dangerous, especially if it becomes universal and becomes the usual line of conduct of law enforcement bodies. It is sufficient to recall 1956-57, when on command from above, the investigative organs began to compete as to who would release the most criminals from answering for their crimes and, instead, hand them over for public reeducation. And the result did not take long to show: crime increased. Something similar has occurred in the past 3 of 4 years.

Many journalists have made a significant contribution, here, to the weakening of the fight against crime in that they have concentrated their efforts not on supporting the law enforcement bodies in the fight against crime but on criticizing the investigative bodies. They began to present many inveterate criminals and at times even perfidious murderers to their readers and viewers as harmless little lambs and presented investigators and procurators as obscurantists and butchers so that in my opinion some journalists believed that the time had come to consign the criminal code to the archives.

The weakening of the fight against crime is evident and the results of this are also evident. Last year there was a sharp increase not only in premeditated murder but also in crime as a whole including deliberate grievous bodily harm, rape, mugging, robbery, theft, misappropriation, and juvenile crime. So we have something to think about. All the same, unfavorable statistics are no reason to come out against the humanization of criminal legislation. Just like many other Procuracy officials, I support the idea of a considerable reduction in the sphere of application of capital punishment as set out in the draft guidelines.

Used Syringes Transmit AIDS to Elista Babies
PM2701145089 Moscow TRUD in Russian 27 Jan 89 p 4

[TRUD scientific observer V. Belitskiy article: "Diagnosis: The Hypodermic. Criminal Negligence by Medical Workers Led to the Infection of Young Children With AIDS"]

[Text] Perhaps it would be appropriate to begin with some emotionally colored phrase: "My blood ran cold" or "the teletype brought horrifying news".... But the facts are such that they do not need "embellishing"—merely to report them is horrifying. So let us, for the moment, stick to the bare facts, so to speak, without emotion.

In the city of Elista, at the republican children's hospital, it was discovered that many of the young children being treated are infected with human immunodeficiency virus—AIDS, in short. The initial figures were confirmed by a second, more rigorous investigation. That means that these young lives could be cut short at any moment.

It was discovered quite by chance. At the end of November last year the AIDS prevention laboratory at the Central Scientific Research Institute of Epidemiology in Moscow received a report that a child had been found to be infected with the virus in Kalmykia. Almost simultaneously another report arrived from the same place—about a woman who had presented herself voluntarily to give blood, but was found to be infected. Both the child, with its mother, and the woman were brought into the laboratory for investigation. But the source of infection could not be established in either case. The child's parents were healthy. So was the husband of the infected woman. And—what a coincidence!—suddenly it emerged that she too had had a child who died quite recently, and the two little ones were together in two departments of the hospital for nearly a month...

"And then," V.V. Pokrovskiy, chief of the AIDS laboratory, says, "we decided to check the other children in those departments, where there were very small children, babes in arms... Out of the first series of 19 analyses that were sent to us at our request, 4 were positive. Immediately after the New Year a team from the Epidemiology Institute flew to Elista, and we began to investigate all

the children who had been near to these little ones—the one who was infected and the one who died. Every day more infected children were found, and so the number of their neighbors who had to be checked also increased. So far, 300 have been investigated, and 27 have been found to be infected—most of them under the age of 2. The analyses have not yet been completed, they may need to cover around 1,000 children. The sphere of investigations also takes in other hospitals in the republic where all these kids have been treated from time to time—we are talking about children who are very weak and who have spent a large part of their short lives thus far in clinics."

Searching for the cause, they checked all the donors whose blood the young patients had received and 100 medical workers at the hospital—nothing. But when they checked the mothers who had stayed in the department with their children, they found that four of them were infected. A theory sprang up: They were breast-feeding, and the infection could have travelled back from the children through a split in the nipple. This phenomenon had not previously been described anywhere in the world. But no other possibility remained. Out of 12,000 inhabitants of Kalmykia who had been tested for AIDS prior to that time, not one carrier of the virus had been found. And with such a low level of infection in the population, it is impossible that five women should suddenly have appeared in the same place, at the same time, who had picked up the infection somewhere else...

"I believe we can say unequivocally that the medical workers and nurses are to blame; they probably used nonsterile hypodermics to inject the children, or else they used the same syringe and only changed the needle, which amounts to the same thing," Academician V.I. Pokrovskiy, director of the Epidemiology Institute, stated. "That means that in all probability we are dealing with an outbreak of hypodermic infection within the hospital. The final answer will emerge only after the investigation that is now beginning, and the trial."

It is hard to believe that medical personnel were almost universally violating all the rules of hygiene. But Ye.N. Belyayev and V.I. Starodubov, chiefs of main administrations at the RSFSR Ministry of Health, cite figures that demonstrate this convincingly. For instance: Out of the annual complement of logbooks in which hypodermic consumption is recorded, only one could be found, for August. The others... perished in a "natural disaster"—they got flooded. Nothing can be learned from another log, the one for the sterilization of hypodermics in the department, because although the log exists, there are no entries in it. According to figures provided by the republican health and epidemiology station, last year instruments that were recorded as being sterile were not in fact sterile in 14 percent of cases. And that is just one of a long line of similar statistics...

Those are the facts. Let us try to evaluate them.

There is no need to use many words to describe the despair of parents who surrender their children to the hospital in the hope of a cure, but find themselves facing something irreparable. Of course, anyone can put himself in their place, with horror. Our words will be useful for something else: to find out the source of our astonishing, foolhardy laxity that does not let us down even in the face of mortal danger, and where it develops. And it is not only a question of laxity.

Compassion, concern for others, the heartfelt longing to help people in trouble—these are certainly signs of a moral, civilized society. For many years, alas, we strutted around persuading ourselves that we had created the “new man.” Meanwhile morality was flouted, while ostentation and servility were encouraged, leading to irresponsibility and mass indifference to everything. An appropriate slogan even appeared: “The most important thing in our day is not to lose your equanimity.”

The cynicism that was instilled over the decades can produce nothing but more cynicism. Can we be surprised at the irresponsibility, equanimity, and cynicism of medical workers who calmly dispatch beyond the pale of life little ones whose only sin in this world is a soiled diaper? No, we should not be surprised. We should try to grasp what to do next.

To this end, I would like to remind the readers of a few things.

On 1 December last year, in the article “Portrait of the Enemy,” devoted to the problems of combating AIDS, we cited as an example of striking laxity the resolution of the then (in 1985) deputy minister of health and USSR chief state health inspector, Academician P. Burgasov, on the first item on AIDS that was compiled for TRUD from American sources. Imposing a ban, he wrote: “...The roots of its spread are the American and Western way of life, unrestrained and flourishing homosexuality. This item is not necessary, it will misinform and frighten the Soviet reader. Who needs a vaccine? Who should be inoculated?”

The other day we received an angry letter from the offended academician. He insists: Yes, the main means by which the AIDS virus spreads is homosexual relations, and nothing else is significant. The editorial office asked a group of scientists to review the letter. Because of the lack of space, I will not quote verbatim their opinion, which is based on weighty statistics and the conclusions of the WHO. It will be sufficient to say that the “Burgasov theory” arouses nothing but perplexity and extreme regret. All the recent cases of AIDS infection—in Leningrad and Odessa, and now in Elista, when women and children suffered, show that the virus did not obey Burgasov’s instructions, and is already actively circulating not somewhere overseas, but here at home. But we are not yet ready to seriously combat it. The reason for the laggardness is laxity and the games of “ideological struggle” engaged in by those who should

instead, by virtue of their professional duty (I cannot bring myself to write “according to their conscience as doctors”), be sounding the alarm. “Who needs a vaccine? Who should be inoculated?” the chief state health inspector passionately cried... The parents of the little patients at the Elista hospital could explain it to him very clearly today.

Did P. Burgasov have to answer for these impassioned remarks that had such bitter reverberations? No, he was removed from his post for something entirely different, but he is still active at sessions of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences and is not giving ground; on the contrary, he is gaining ground: He has transferred to a job at the USSR Ministry of Medical and Biological Industry. As a consultant. On AIDS problems, perhaps?

It looks very much like it. After all, this ministry—as well as the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems, incidentally—has responsibility for the production of disposable syringes and spectrophotometers, and (sole responsibility, in this case) for the production of test systems used to detect the virus. The leaders of both departments made all kinds of excuses in their attempt to explain to the newspaper, after criticism, why there is an acute shortage of the first, the second, and the third! Nonetheless, there were no syringes, and there still are virtually none: Having failed to reach agreement with associates to organize their own production, the two ministries... buy them for foreign currency. Naturally, there is not very much of that available, and naturally what is purchased is hardly likely to get as far as Elista.

I don’t know about anyone else, but I found these excuses insulting. Because at about the same time that the replies came in from the ministries, a comrade told me how, while working in Czechoslovakia, he went to the veterinarian to have his dog injected. You’ve guessed it, reader? Of course! The dog was treated with a disposable syringe, which then went straight into the garbage can... Is the juxtaposition of these two facts not an insult to morality, common sense, and patriotism? And ultimately to a parent’s feelings? Once again I invite you to imagine you are in Elista...

But I am not only inviting you to weep with the mothers and fathers who suffered this terrible blow. I also want us to take a little trip into the future, that future that the two aforementioned ministries paint for us in their promises. Let us suppose that the day has come when everything medicine asks for is available. Hypodermic syringes, needles, instruments, equipment, drugs... So will the Kamlyk story then be impossible?

Alas, I do not believe in that bright future. Let us give a disposable syringe to that same nurse who only yesterday did not give a damn about professional duty or the sterilizer. Where is the guarantee that tomorrow she will

not start injecting the kids repeatedly with one disposable syringe and selling the rest, say, to drug addicts? There is no guarantee. Just as there was none in Lenin-grad or Odessa...

Engineers have the expression "idiotproof," which means that a tool or machine should be specially designed for the ignorant or casual user. You must ensure that citizens who happen to take control of the handles and levers cannot do any damage by their idiotic actions. In medicine, making something "idiotproof" undoubtedly means mainly getting rid of the "idiot" himself, speedily and without fail. Naturally, this word does not mean only those who have no brains, but also those who have no conscience and no heart, and who therefore should be sentenced to deprivation of the right to practice medicine by a court at any level (although no such law as yet exists).

Weighty documents state in black and white that our lives and health are protected and guaranteed by the state. One wonders: What did the state do about it in Elista? What did the two health ministries—in Kalmykia and Russia—do in the name of the state, not after the tragedy, but before, to prevent it? No doubt both these esteemed departments could show us a "plan of measures" to combat an AIDS epidemic and even tell us how they are being fulfilled. But if you want to know what such plans and such measures are worth today, ask the parents of those kids from Elista.

They did not ask me to do this, but all the same I will risk saying this on their behalf in conclusion. It is my dream that everyone can trust his doctor completely. And I do not know whether this will come true, and when. We now have more than a million doctors in our country. Could it be that the time has come to do without that "more than"? Last year the minister of health stated at a press conference that certification is in progress, and out of 300,000 doctors who have been tested, 30,000 were deemed "provisionally certificated." So 1 in 10 is potentially dangerous. But... they are still working as doctors! They tell us it is because there is no one to do the work. On my part, I would venture to suggest: Better no doctor, perhaps, than a bad one. I think it would be worth discussing this idea calmly and unemotionally.

186 Aids Cases Registered in USSR
*LD2701235989 Moscow TASS in English 2104 GMT
27 Jan 89*

[Text] Moscow January 27 TASS—According to the latest data, 146 people infected with the AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) virus have been registered in the Soviet Union as against 33 at the beginning of last year, said Academician Valentin Pokrovsky, director of the Moscow Institute of Epidemiology. "People infected with the AIDS virus are under the supervision of medical specialists. Three AIDS patients died in the USSR and the fourth [figure as received] one

is alive and working—he has been under medical supervision for about two years now and constantly takes treatment courses", the scientist told a TASS correspondent.

"The AIDS situation in the USSR is not as alarming as that in some other countries but we know the treacherous nature of the disease and are actively developing a state programme for combating it," the academician pointed out.

"Unfortunately, insufficient control over the disinfection of medical instruments may also become a cause of infection. I am confident that this is how it was, in particular in the city of Elista, the capital of the Kalmyk Autonomous Republic. Following examinations carried out there (which were prompted by two blood samples with positive reaction to the AIDS virus) 27 small children, mainly under two years of age, who were treated in the republican children's hospital and four mothers who stayed together with them there were added to our register of those infected with the AIDS virus. But the source of the virus in the hospital has not been found so far". The scientist emphasized. "An investigation of the case has been started to find out all the details".

Sheremetyevo Customs Officials Fight Drug Traffic

*PM2701115389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Jan 89 Second Edition p 6*

[V. Chebakov "Customs Reportage": "Heroin... in Baggage"]

[Text] At the Main State Customs Control Administration under the USSR Council of Ministers your PRAVDA correspondent was told that the other day Sheremetyevo customs officials arrested a foreign citizen who was passing through Moscow on his way from Delhi to a West European airport.

On inspecting his baggage an official noticed a suitcase. It had a false bottom and a secret compartment containing 1,650 grams of the powerful narcotic heroin. The same traditional smugglers' method was used by another passenger—five kilograms of marijuana were found in the lining of his traveler's bag. Both cases of smuggling are being investigated.

Last year customs organs seized around 55 kg of powerful narcotics. This year the figure is already around 10 kg in less than a month.

"But there are also more sophisticated smuggling methods," I was told at Sheremetyevo customs. "Recently, for example, one transit passenger was detained with a television in his possession. Officers found 5.5 kg of heroin hidden inside the picture tube.

As is known, last September Soviet customs officers encountered for the first time an unusual smuggling method—the “live receptacle.” I will remind you of the incident. Maud Elisabet Nordin, a subject of the Kingdom of Sweden, was flying from Bangkok to Stockholm. During a stopover at Sheremetyevo-2 she was taken to the Sklifosovskiy Institute in a serious condition. Surgeons removed from her stomach around 100 small ampuls containing heroin. One of them had been damaged, which accounted for Nordin's serious condition. This method of smuggling is widely practiced by the mafia. Such people are called “swallowers.” Recently customs officers arrested someone else looking to make a fast buck. But a new mode of conveyance this time—intracavitary concealment. He was also saved and an investigation is under way.

They are all “transit cases.” But there is also a case of an attempt to bring narcotics into our country. In some imported supplies of mineral fertilizers customs officials found more than 10 kg of raw opium. Hundreds of tonnes of fertilizers had to be examined to expose the criminals...

In Vienna recently the Soviet Union signed the UN convention on combatting illegal trafficking in narcotics and psychotropic drugs. The facts that have been cited indicate that our country's customs organs are contributing to this important work. The fight against the “white death” continues.

TV Broadcasts Ethnic Program to Soviet Far East
LD2801214789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1452 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] Komsomolsk-na-Amure, 28 Jan (TASS)—The traditional Nanai greeting (a small ethnic group on the Amur) “Greetings, friends!” [bariana bichigoapu] was heard for the first time today on local television screens. The first program for the natives of the Soviet far east, “People of the Amur”, was on the air.

About 10 small ethnic groups inhabit the area adjacent to the major industrial center of Komsomolsk-na-Amure. The new television program will help them communicate, improve the native language, and deal with national problems. The first edition of the program was devoted to the history of the Nanais, the form of education in one of the ethnic schools and the art of the Nanai dance ensemble “Mangbo” soon to go on tour in the United States.

Specialist in the history, language, culture, and crafts of the natives of the far east were invited for preparing and presenting the programs.

Newsstands Quickly ‘Sell Out’ Western Papers
PM2701145189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 5

[S. Mushkaterov article: “LE MONDE on Sale at Kiosk in the Arbat”]

[Text] Since 1 January Western newspapers have been on unrestricted sale in Moscow, the capitals of the union

republics, and other large cities in the country. But is it easy to buy them? To answer that question I visited several central Moscow kiosks specializing in the sale of the foreign press.

At the fourth one I struck luck. At the kiosk near the “Arbatskaya” subway station I saw Britain's THE GUARDIAN and several publications in German.

“We also have the U.S. INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, the French newspaper LE MONDE, and the Italian IL MESSAGGERO, although very rarely, it is true,” news vendor L.V. Prokonova told me. “Western newspapers arrive more or less regularly, although I would find it hard to say which ones will arrive tomorrow, for example, and in what quantities. They sell out very quickly. The 15 copies of THE GUARDIAN which I have just received will sell out in 2-3 hours at most. And that is despite the fact that these newspapers cost R1.40!”

I stopped my tour of the kiosks there and contacted V.Yu. Bulychev, deputy chief of the “Soyuzpechat” Moscow city production association.

“We receive all our foreign press from the ‘Soyuzpechat’ Central agency for foreign publications. After sending newspapers to those organizations and departments which need them for their current work we usually have six titles left. There are 157 copies of DIE ZEIT, 56 copies of the GUARDIAN, 5 copies of IL MESSAGGERO, and a total of 48 copies of the other 3 publications. They all go on unrestricted sale, but for a city like Moscow this is chicken feed.”

I agreed entirely with V.Yu. Bulychev's opinion and for an explanation of the whole situation regarding the sale of Western publications I turned to V.V. Pukalov, chief of the “Soyuzpechat” central agency for foreign publications.

“The unrestricted sale of Western newspapers is new to us and we have not examined the demand for them yet. An analysis for the USSR will be ready by the end of February.”

“What if you find that there is still a shortage?”

“In that case we shall ask ‘Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga,’ which is responsible for the purchase of foreign publications, about the possibility of increasing the range and quantity of titles. But here I would note that it is not even ‘Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga’ which has the final say but the Ministry of Finance, which allocates the foreign currency.”

Youth Paper Readers' Questions Answered

PM2601101989 [Editorial Report] Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 January 1989 carries across the bottom of pages 1-4, under the headline "Dialogue," a series of responses to readers' questions phoned in to the newspaper, with the actual question included in most cases. Both mundane and controversial topics are addressed.

The following are three of the six items appearing on page one:

"Newspaper on Trial?"

"Last year our courts dealt with 55 lawsuits concerned with the protection of citizens' honor and dignity. KROKODIL, OGONEK, SOVETSKAYA KULTURA and many other publications featured as defendants. In 17 of the 55 lawsuits the court ruled in favor of the plaintiff.

"In fact a total of 89 lawsuits of this kind were brought last year. Those left over will be examined this year.

"[Signed] I. Lukyanov, secretary of the Sverdlovskiy Rayon People's Court, Moscow."

"For Whom the Bell Tolls

"Is it true that the 'Pamyat' society is suing its former leader Vasilyev?

"[Signed] A. Simonova, Arkhangelsk Oblast

"The editorial office contacted an activist of the 'Pamyat' society in Moscow. He answered exhaustively and frankly. But then something strange happened. The day before yesterday our interlocutor took back everything he had said and refused to sign the text of his answer, explaining that this was the aktiv's decision and therefore a purely internal matter for the society. The aktiv ought to know what it is doing, of course. However, the refusal nonetheless puzzled us: After all, 'Pamyat' activists have frequently criticized journalists for not allowing them to address the public..."

"What Does 'Buran' Cost?"

"The chairman of the state commission for flight tests of the 'Energiya' universal space rocket transport system and the 'Buran' orbital craft replies: The development of the [U.S.] 'Shuttle' program is estimated to have cost \$10 billion, and each launch costs approximately \$80 million. Our figures in respect of the 'Energiya' and the 'Buran' are commensurate with the U.S. expenditure."

A question asking "Where Is Radioactive Waste Stored?" appears on page two. A reply from B. Semenov, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Utilization of Atomic Energy, describes some of the general principles governing the storage of such materials and concludes:

"Since we do not yet possess facilities for large-scale industrial processing of these materials, spent nuclear fuel is currently stored in decay tanks at nuclear power stations, at a separate storage facility in the zone of the Novo-Voronezhskaya AES, and at storage facilities in the vicinity of our experimental-industrial installation for the processing of these materials."

Also carried on page two is the following:

"Should We Print Solzhenitsyn?

"I have heard that NOVYY MIR intends to publish A. Solzhenitsyn's 'Gulag Archipelago.' Is this true?

"[Signed] S. Nikonova, Uzbek SSR.

"It is true that we would like to publish this novel, S.P. Zalygin, the journal's chief editor, told us. However, I cannot tell KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA readers anything definite. I must honestly admit that this question has still to be decided."

A question on page three concerns radio jamming:

"I understand that we have stopped jamming Western radio stations. It would be interesting to know what will happen to the jamming stations now?

"[Signed] S. Makarova, Novosibirsk Oblast.

"It is true that radio stations such as 'Liberty,' 'Deutsche Welle,' and 'Voice of Israel' can be received now. The jamming of other Western radio stations stopped even earlier. All this is, unquestionably, connected with the appreciable thaw in the international climate and the policy of new thinking. Incidentally, jamming was introduced by Western countries back in the thirties. We contacted the USSR Ministry of Communications main administration for space and radio communications. A. Varbanskiy, deputy chief of the main administration, told us: The radio transmitters which are no longer needed for jamming are to be used primarily to develop local radio broadcasting. These technical facilities will make it possible to broadcast new radio programs in many of the country's cities."

Also on page three, in response to a question from one A. Frolov viewer about the quality and content of Western television programs, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA UK correspondent Yu. Sagaydak submits, as the "best answer to the question," a translation of the London ITV program guide for 20 January 1989, with a number of explanatory notes.

Reader Questions Viewing of U.S. TV

PM2701153489 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jan 89 p 2

[Answer to reader's letter as part of "Dialogue: Ask Us Your Questions!" feature by V. Volodin, A. Dyatlov, A. Trushkin, O. Tekhmenov, V. Umnov, A. Shumskiy, and V. Korolev: "Antenna 'Under Cover'?"—first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] I have heard that some of our television viewers are able to watch programs from the United States by satellite television. Is this true? [Signed] S. Portnov, Ryazan Oblast.

We managed to obtain some information from the USSR Ministry of Communications Main Administration of Space and Radio Communications: There are indeed some smart guys who design special antennas that allow them to receive programs from the United States. But installing the receiving apparatus is prohibited. Why? The answer was rather vague: Under international rules, they say, you need the permission of the transmitting side. If the phenomenon becomes widespread, there could be unpleasantness and even an international scandal. Moreover the "private operators" are robbing the state, because you cannot buy components for these antennas in the stores.

What is to be done?

Advertising Magazine Begins Publication

LD2601100389 Moscow Television Service in Russian
0330 GMT 26 Jan 89

[From the "120 Minutes" program]

[Summary] The Planeta advertising agency of the USSR Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives has started publishing a biweekly magazine KLIP, which contains advertisements placed by the country's organizations and cooperatives about their activities and services. The first print-run was 50,000 copies, but this will be increased to 300,000-400,000 copies. The first issue sold out very quickly. [video of KLIP on display on a newspaper stall on the street; editorial office]

Scientific

'Cosmos-1993' Launched, Working Normally

LD3001084589 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0835 GMT 30 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 30 January (TASS)—Another artificial earth satellite, Cosmos-1993, was launched in the Soviet Union on Saturday by a Soyuz carrier-rocket. It is intended for space research. It has been placed into an orbit with the following parameters:

—initial period of revolution, 89.9 minutes;
—apogee, 382 kilometers;

—perigee, 180 kilometers;
—orbital inclination, 64.8 degrees.

The apparatus is working normally.

'Phobos' Reaches Martian Orbit 29 January

Background to Project Reviewed

LD2901130989 Moscow TASS in English 1303 GMT
29 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 29 TASS—By TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova:

The Soviet space probe Phobos is to be boosted to a Martian orbit at 15:55 minutes on Sunday.

The maneuver bringing it to the flight path around the red planet will be executed by firing the craft's engine.

Phobos lifted off on July 12, 1988, to investigate Mars and its moon Phobos as well as the sun and interplanetary space.

A total of 186 communications sessions have been held with the vehicle en route to the red planet.

Apart from the Soviet Union, the research project involves more than ten other countries as well as the European Space Agency.

There are more hypotheses—fantastic, daring and spell-binding—connected with Mars than with any other planet in the solar system. The fascinating prospect of finding life there has long excited mankind's imagination.

Our body of knowledge about the planet has grown considerably following missions by Soviet and U.S. space probes. It is known, for instance, that Mars has a very rarefied atmosphere, consisting 95 percent of carbon dioxide.

Low temperatures and the absence of the photosynthesis and of a magnetic field cut the ground from under the feet of those hoping for some life form on Mars.

The current Martian mission by Phobos will hopefully lift the veil of mystery a little.

One of the primary objectives of the experiment is to obtain a temperature map of Martian surface, study how its temperature patterns change daily and seasonally, measure the thermal inertia of Martian soil, and identify heat-emitting and permafrost areas.

In this way or another, all this is also connected with the search for signs of life. Besides, the findings will give scientists an idea of the mineral makeup of Martian soil as well.

Orbit Parameters Given

LD2901225389 Moscow TASS in English 2238 GMT
29 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 30 TASS—The flight control centre reports:

The automatic interplanetary station Phobos which covered over 470 million km in 200 flight days, has been changed over to the orbit of Mars' artificial satellite.

The station had its trajectory corrected on January 23 for it to approach Mars, and then it changed over to a trajectory 800 km from the surface of the planet. In accordance with the flight programme, the station's braking rockets fired at 3:55 pm on January 29. The reverse-thrust operation was done by the board control system which uses a previously elaborated programme and data of operational ballistic calculations. The manoeuvre put the station in an elliptical orbit, close to the calculated one, with the following parameters:

- the maximum distance from the surface of Mars (in apogee)—79,750 km,
- the minimum distance from the surface of Mars (in perigee)—850 km,
- the orbit's inclination to the Martian equator—1 degree,
- the period of revolution around the planet—76.5 hours.

Comprehensive exploration of the surface, atmosphere, plasma and magnetic envelopes of the planet will be carried out from aboard the station in the course of its flight in that orbit. Sophisticated navigational measurements of the relative movement of the Martian natural and artificial satellites will later be made and a number of active manoeuvres will be carried out to ensure the station's gradual approach to Phobos.

Research Prospects Noted

LD2901172189 Moscow TASS in English 1654 GMT
29 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 29 TASS—The inter-planetary automatic station Phobos, which was launched from the Baykonur cosmodrome on July 12, 1988, became an artificial satellite of Mars at 3:55 p.m. today. It covered a distance of 470 million kilometres.

TASS scientific news analyst Aleksandr Romanov, now at the Phobos station mission control centre, has had this to say:

"For the first time in mankind's history the planet of Mars has acquired one more satellite. The automatic station, put in a near-Mars orbit, and then its planned landing on the Phobos satellite will bring mankind closer to unravelling mysteries of the planet: either Phobos, a Martian satellite, is a creation of nature or it was created by reasonable creatures once inhabiting Mars".

"Great scientist and designer Sergey Korolev was the first to dare to reach out to Mars to unravel its mysteries. Automatic interplanetary station, created under his direction, reached the moon in 1959. In 1961, Korolev-designed spaceship put into space mankind's first cosmonaut Yuriy Gagarin. In 1962 the Mars-1 station, also designed by Korolev, was launched towards the faraway planet of Mars. Having flown at a small distance from the planet, the Soviet station Mars opened the way to the red planet for other Soviet and American automatic flight vehicles".

"And now the interplanetary automatic station Phobos is in flight. Its having been put into orbit around Mars is perhaps not the most important part of the whole program", said one of the Mars-Phobos program directors, Professor Nikolay Ivanov. "Within a long period of time the automatic station will change a number of near-Martian orbits in the zone of Phobos. The automatic station will finally lower down to a height of 50 kilometres and then hang 50 metres from the surface of Mars' satellite. For 25 minutes the equipment aboard the station will be able to carry out radiolocation and television panorama survey of Phobos, to make analysis of soil element and isotope composition, determine the structure of rock and relief of the satellite, etc".

"One will have to wait for over a month for the most important concluding stage of the durable autonomous laboratory's landing on the Phobos surface", Professor Ivanov said.

"Chief designer of the Soviet Energiya rocket Boris Gubanov believes that apart from purely scientific importance the Phobos program, exploring Mars and one of its satellites, is of great significance since the program is laying the way to Mars for man. The carrier rocket Energiya which recently stood tests after modernisation can lift into space a weight much greater than 100 tons. This gives one ground to believe that it will be able to launch a multi-ton manned spaceship towards Mars. I think that one should wait not so many years for that to come true", he said.

Satellite Communications Link Operational

LD2901214689 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 29 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Summary] A new space communications link via the "Gorizont-140" satellite has started operating in Nakhodka. The ground station in Nakhodka is part of the Inmarsat international satellite communications organization, serving the Pacific and Indian Ocean regions. Any ship can be contacted in seconds using the system. Previously this kind of communications was carried out using U.S. satellites, which was, "of course, not cheap." The launch of "Gorizont-140" enables the USSR not only to save foreign currency, but also to receive it from foreign subscribers.

"The prospects for space communications are enormous, but as yet our ground lines are slowing its development: They are unreliable and obsolete. This is why lines form for conversations, which is holding back foreign clients." Switchboard operators contacting other parts of the USSR from Nakhodka have to use obsolete equipment. The use of "Gorizont-140" should speed up the solution of many problems, which will lead to the development of modern, reliable satellite communications. [video shows satellite dish on open ground, equipment nearby labeled JRC in Latin letters; computer rooms, telephone operator using computer terminal and then turning and plugging in connection manually]

'Energiya' Designer Discusses Launching
LD2801161489 Moscow World Service in English
0310 GMT 28 Jan 89

[From the "Inside Report" program]

[Excerpts] We begin with an account of some details linked to the launching of the world's most powerful booster rocket, "Energiya." [passage omitted recalling the first launch]

The "Energiya" booster is big enough to take payloads of 27 tonnes to Mars or 100 tonnes into the near-Earth orbit. More now from the booster's chief designer, Sergey Yershov:

[Begin Yershov recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] With construction underway of the total of three launch pads for the "Energiya" booster, two are already in service. The third one, awaiting additional equipment, is designed for launching Buran shuttles with one flight a year being planned in the near future. [end recording]

The booster's cargo bay is so big that even (?a) combined capacity of such countries as the Soviet Union, the United States, and Japan will be unable to produce the equipment needed to be put in orbit every 6 months. Designers meanwhile continue work to improve the system:

[Begin Yershov recording] The booster's total prelaunch weight is 2,400 tonnes with future rockets expected to be nearly four times as heavy. "Energiya's" engines are said to be so perfect in design and fuel consumption that they would hardly need any improvement in the near future. The entire system is to become reusable. Strap-on rockets on the booster's body will be used to help at re-entry and soft landing. A parachute system is also provided and cushion supports will be used for landing. The second stage will be fitted with a Delta wing for it to land as an aircraft. [end recording]

'Considerable' Returns Justify Space Program
PM2701161189 Moscow TRUD in Russian
26 Jan 89 p 4

[Interview with Lieutenant General of Aviation V.A. Shatalov, chief of the Cosmonaut Training Center, by V. Golovachev under the rubric "Readers Conduct the Interview": "Why Are We Going Into Space?"; date, place not given; questions provided by TRUD readers]

[Text] A. Rodionov, Leningrad: The first flight of the Soviet Buran shuttle was the event of last year. TRUD reported (27 November last year) that "in accordance with the test program, it was planned to carry out the shuttle's second flight in automatic mode. But, following Buran's brilliant debut, certain specialists are proposing a reduction in the program of unmanned flights by the shuttle." Has the question of Buran's second flight been decided? What is your personal opinion—should it be manned or unmanned? To put the question more broadly: Why do we trust automatic machines more than man on spaceflights, and why do we endeavor to allocate him a secondary role?

[Shatalov] I will begin by answering the last question. This is a rather old discussion: Who should have priority on a spaceflight—man or an automatic machine. The arguments have already died down, and there is nothing to discuss, for it is all clear: It is invalid to contrast them. A person has his functions, while machines have theirs. Today it is impossible to imagine a flight by a transport craft, work on an orbiting station, or progress in cosmonautics at all without modern high-speed computers and all the very complex "smart" technology. But it is still the cosmonaut who is master on board the craft. He is not a "passive observer," but precisely the pilot and researcher who creatively resolves the complex problems that frequently arise on a flight.

In the past there was a clash of two positions, two approaches to manned flights. Certain designers stubbornly believed that technology must be trusted more than people. A serious blow was dealt to these views back in 1965 at the time of the unplanned landing of Voskhod-2, when the craft was unable to return to earth from the planned revolution because of faults in the automatic equipment. And it was only by using the manual control system that the crew guided the craft onto the descent path.

Later, too, cosmonauts repeatedly found a way out in very complex critical situations. It is sufficient to recall, for example, how in June 1985 Vladimir Dzhanibekov and Viktor Savinykh approached in manual control mode the uncontrolled and unoriented Salyut-7 station, which had lost radio contact, flew around it, executed a meticulously precise and very complex docking maneuver, and repaired the systems that had gone out of commission. In general, so many repair operations have

been carried out in space recently that a separate book could be written about this. So life and space practice have confirmed that automatic systems must not be "absolutized."

Today's concept—the optimum combination of work by automatic machines with creative human activity—determines the development of cosmonautics in our country.

As for Buran's next flight, I believe that it could be a manned one (after comprehensive training, of course). However, there are, of course, other opinions. As far as I know, the final decision has not yet been made. First we must conduct a careful investigation of the craft that has returned from space...

V. Timofeyev, Voronezh: How many people will there be in the crew on Buran's first manned flight? What is the largest possible crew on board a shuttle? Who is training to fly on Buran?

[Shatalov] Two cosmonauts will evidently conduct test flights of Buran before it goes into regular mode. Subsequently, there could be four people in the crew manning Buran. And for individual tasks requiring the participation of different kinds of researchers, as many as 10 people could fly on board Buran.

The cabin is divided into two compartments—upper and lower. The total volume is 73 cubic meters (more than seven times that of the three-seater Soyuz TM). There is also a payload compartment: It is approximately 5 meters in diameter and more than 18 meters long.

Now about those who are being trained to fly in Buran. TRUD has already reported their names. They are experienced test pilots—I. Volya (group leader), V. Zabolotskiy, R. Stankiyavichyus, U. Sultanov, M. Tolboev, S. Tresvyatskiy, and Yu. Sheffer.

K. Khasanov, Oktyabrskiy, Bashkir ASSR: The newspapers have written that reserve landing strips will be constructed for Buran-type shuttles. Where precisely? Will Buran be our only specimen, or are other shuttles planned?

[Shatalov] One reserve landing strip for shuttles will be completed in the region of Simferopol, and another in the eastern part of the country. Of course, the present Buran will not be our only space shuttle. For example, a second craft is now being assembled in the Baykonur Cosmodrome's assembly and testing block...

D. Shumilin, Minsk: How many flights can a shuttle make? How long can it stay in space orbit?

[Shatalov] The shuttle is designed for 100 spaceflights. Its stay in orbit depends on the program. At the first stage, up to 7 days; subsequently, up to 1 month.

T. Grishchenko, Kiev: What is the fate of the Salyut-7 orbiting station?

[Shatalov] It has been decided to leave this station, which has completed its working life, in space in order to conduct service life tests. This is important to designers. For the Mir has largely been manufactured from the same materials as Salyut-7. Therefore, it would be interesting to learn how long these materials retain their properties and how they change under the impact of cosmic rays, meteorites, the vacuum, the tremendous temperature gradient... We must check the thermal and meteorite protection, and so forth. After the service life tests have been completed, Salyut-7 will either be returned to earth by Buran or sunk in the ocean after descending from orbit.

V. Krivtsov (Ryazan), A. Orlyanskaya (Kerch), Ya. Merdukh (Neteshin, Khmel'nitskiy Oblast), and others—in all, this subject was broached in 67 letters: We seem, at last, to be starting to count money in earnest. We have abandoned the fabulously expensive diversion of rivers (which could have done irreparable harm), we want the defense industry to work more for the needs of the national economy, we are cutting back the Army and armaments, and so forth. This question arises in this connection: Is it not time to cut appropriations for space exploration?

[Shatalov] Generally speaking, these questions are wrongly addressed. Our center trains cosmonauts and crews who, possessing highly professional qualities, must ensure the fulfillment of space programs and of complex tasks that arise with regard to station repairs, and so forth. Nevertheless, I will express my opinion on the problems broached.

Space exploration is of tremendous significance to the development of science, and economic progress is also impossible without it. The latest space equipment and technology are reference points for our entire industry.

Only let us not touch on these very important aspects but see what space exploration gives us directly for the practical needs of the national economy.

First, the satellite communications system. Television broadcasting and multichannel long-distance telephone and telegraph communications embrace practically the entire population of the country (93 percent). By the year 2000, 7 out of every 10 messages carried by all communications channels will be transmitted via space. But if we were to lay down cable communications? The cost would be fantastic...

Second, the Tsikada satellite navigation system, which serves ships in the world's oceans. It provides great savings.

Now weather satellites. The use of meteorological information from space ensures annual savings to the national economy of up to R500-700 million.

Concerning such a very important area as study of the earth's natural environment and resources, photographs from space combined with aerial and traditional geological exploration methods and geophysical and geochemical research make it possible more quickly and more cheaply to determine promising areas to look for minerals. For example, a comprehensive analysis of data from an investigation of the Kola peninsula, the Verkhoyansk range, and the region around the Sea of Okhotsk revealed a number of promising territories to prospect for ore deposits. Judge for yourselves: What is more profitable—to extract our own metal or purchase it abroad?

Only from space did we detect circular structures created by ancient volcanoes in the Okhotsk-Chukotka Zone (this covers thousands of kilometers). We have begun looking for minerals in remote desert regions: rare metals in the Far East, copper in the region of the Baykal-Amur Main Railroad, tin in Yakutia.... In its time the space phototectonic map of the Aral and Caspian region was a real sensation. It was then that the Astrakhan oil- and gas-bearing region was selected for priority development. The prognosis was brilliantly confirmed.

Efficient use can be made of space information in agriculture and forestry, by hydroelectric power, construction, and transportation workers.... Space photography has a real, palpable effect in mapmaking. Information from space is extremely necessary to fishermen. The detection of accumulations of plankton and shoals of fish makes it possible to seek and catch fish more efficiently, to save fuel on ships, and so forth.

In all, more than 1,000 organizations of many ministries and departments in our country use space information today. The savings exceed R1 billion a year. This completely repays the expenditure on spaceflights (not on the creation of equipment, though).

As we see, there is a considerable practical return on space research. But I must say that **those readers are right who ask this question: Why is such insignificant use made of spaceflights to resolve urgent national economic tasks?** Speaking of manned flights, for example, the return on them for our economy could, in my view, be immeasurably greater. It was long ago proved that under weightless conditions in orbit it is possible to obtain invaluable medical preparations and unique crystalline materials, to carry out manufacturing processes that cannot be achieved on earth, and so forth.

Experiments have been finalized, but what now? **On a permanently manned orbiting station it would be possible to organize semi-industrial production of medicines, crystals, semiconductors, and many other things. The technical possibility for this already exists. But for some reason no one is interested in it. Perhaps we have not yet**

awakened after the "stagnation hibernation"? Industrial firms in the West are fighting vigorously to lease a certain capacity on board the [U.S.] shuttle, a fight for every gram of payload stowed aboard the craft. Their aim is to open up space for industry as quickly as possible. Unfortunately, such tendencies are very weak in our country. We have a big shortfall here. And readers are quite right to note this substantial shortcoming. It is clear that **an abnormal situation has taken shape and must be changed as quickly as possible.**

D. Lisin, Nizhniy Tagil: Highly developed countries (they do not throw money to the wind) do not indulge in such costly space experiments—probably this is no coincidence?

[Shatalov] Why do you say they do not? The Americans, for example, intend to construct a large orbiting station that will cost approximately \$25 billion to create. And take the new proposals recently put forward by NASA scientists. The creation of a permanently manned base on the moon by the year 2005, the possibility of a crew flying to Mars by the year 2007 (one estimate of the cost of a manned mission is \$190 billion), the creation of a colony on Mars by the year 2015... The Hermes shuttle is being built by France, the FRG, and a number of other countries within the framework of the European Space Agency. Britain and Japan are developing their own shuttles.

The "Soyuzkarta" Foreign Trade Association receives orders for space photography from various countries. A single color photograph with negative costs an average of \$1,000. So I ask: Should we abandon work in a sphere in which we hold the lead?

D. Bortsov, Novosibirsk: What is the program for manned flights in 1989?

[Shatalov] A. Volkov, S. Krikalev, and V. Polyakov are currently on duty aboard the Mir. They will be relieved by another crew in April. A. Volkov, S. Krikalev, and V. Polyakov will return to earth 29 April. The new crew will work until the fall, when there will be another change of watch.

S. Markina, Yaroslavl: Are long flights—lasting 1 year, for example—necessary?

[Shatalov] If we seriously want to open up space, we cannot do without such flights.

A number of specialists consider work by space crews lasting 1 year to be the optimum. Others, however, are convinced that crews work most efficiently for 4-6 months. If we disregard superlong flights designed to study the effect of weightlessness and other space factors on the human organism, then orbital flights lasting no more than 6 months, with the possibility of a "shift overlap" ["peresmenka"] in orbit, should, in my view, be the norm.

At the same time, I believe it expedient to switch crews not over the space of a few days but over a longer period. It is a question of having both crews work together for a month or two and carry out the most difficult, intensive program during this period. During the remaining 3-4 months the one crew should tackle research, manufacturing processes, the unloading of Progress, and so forth. Thus, 2-3 expeditions could be carried out in the space of 1 year. And foreign cosmonauts could work on the station during those few months when two crews will be working simultaneously on the orbiting complex.

S. Grachev, Kursk: The newspapers have written that specialized modules will be dispatched to the Mir complex. When will this happen?

[Shatalov] There are plans for two modules to be launched and then docked with the complex this year. The designers want the interval between the docking of the first and second modules to be minimal. This is because an asymmetry will arise in the space complex when one of them docks, which will complicate control of it.

D. Krutoyarov, Tomsk: Ground services—controllers, designers—have recently been making quite a few mistakes. One of the two automatic interplanetary stations now flying toward Mars went out of commission because of an incorrect command. There were two malfunctions in a row when international crews returned last September and December; landing had to be deferred until emergency orbits... What accounts for this?

[Shatalov] The growing complexity of space programs demands special composure, attentiveness, and responsibility on the part of all involved in a spaceflight. Of cosmonauts, designers, scientists, and ground control services. Unfortunately, no one is insured against mistakes. Thus, what is needed is systems which will provide, for example, backup insurance and additional verification of the correctness of commands transmitted to space from earth.

The growing breadth and complexity of space programs, including the organization at the Mission Control Center of parallel work with other space objects (Buran and Fobos, for example), requires the involvement of a large number of young specialists in flight control. Maybe they have not all been trained adequately for such work. We have a rule at the Cosmonaut Training Center: Every specialist who deals with crews must receive the same training as the cosmonauts themselves. Only then can he be considered a real specialist.

V. Shurgot, Moscow: What international flights are planned in the future?

[Shatalov] An accord has been reached for a Soviet-Austrian spaceflight.

In an interview in the newspaper EXPRESS, the FRG minister of research and technology expressed the hope that the first joint Soviet-West German spaceflight will take place no later than 1991.

Talks are being held with Britain, Malaysia... The USSR Main Administration for the Creation and Utilization of Space Technology [Glavkosmos] is ready to receive applications from all countries to participate in flights on a commercial basis.

The French side wants month-long joint Soviet-French flights to be made once every 2 years. This has greatly heartened Michel Tonini, the standby for Jean-Louis Chretien, who recently returned from space. M. Tonini now has a real chance of going to an orbiting station in 1990 or early 1991.

[Golovachev] Incidentally, there is a question concerning the French cosmonaut. Zh. Tkacheva of Donetsk asks: "M. Tonini got married in Zvezdnyy Gorodok. Who is his wife, how old are they both, and where do they live—in Zvezdnyy or Paris?"

[Shatalov] Michel Tonini is 39. His wife, Yelena Vasilyevna Tonini (Chechina) works at the Cosmonaut Training Center as an instructor in physical culture and sport. She is 22. They now live in Zvezdnyy, but previously they had travelled to Paris.

D. Krivich, Lvov: I heard on the radio that an American (a singer, I think) wanted to go to the Mir station at his own expense, within the framework of a commercial flight. Will he fly?

[Shatalov] I personally did not like this option very much right from the start. We are not opening up space for the amusement of millionaires. But, nevertheless, there exist commercial rules announced by the USSR Glavkosmos. And so talks were conducted with the American, as agreed. The flight costs \$10 million. He applied to the U.S. State Department and received permission. But when the deadline for signing the contract arrived, no signals were received from the singer. He had evidently undertaken all this only for publicity...

V. Molchanov, Tula: I am very interested in cosmonautics. I was told that a women's crew—S.Ye. Savitskaya, Ye.A. Ivanova, and Ye.I. Dobrokvashina—had been training to fly to an orbiting station. Nothing was reported about this. Who were their standbys?

[Shatalov] Yes, in 1984 it was decided to prepare a female crew to fly to the Salyut-7 orbiting station. The commander was to be S. Savitskaya, who had already made a spaceflight in July of that year. The crew also included engineer Ye. Ivanova and physician Ye. Dobrokvashina. Their standbys were A. Vikorenko, A. Aleksandrov, and V. Solovyev. Why a male crew? The answer is simple. Because the decision had been made

much earlier that every crew must include one cosmonaut who has already made a flight. In the women's crew this was S. Savitskaya. But there was no female cosmonaut for a standby women's crew who had the experience of a flight and who was ready at the time for a new one. That is why the standbys were men. But after the birth of S. Savitskaya's baby the women's flight did not take place.

V. Petrovicheva, Ivanovo: Will women fly in space this year?

[Shatalov] No, such a flight is not planned. Women are not currently being trained at our center.

V. Korablev, Voronezh: Are our cosmonauts training for a moon shot?

[Shatalov] There is no such need at present. But it is impossible to imagine space exploration in the future without exploring the moon and setting up lunar bases there.

S. Trunova, Baku: Why is nothing heard about cosmonauts A. Zaytsev and A. Kaleri, who were reported earlier to be members of standby crews? How many cosmonauts are in the detachment now?

[Shatalov] A. Kaleri and A. Zaytsev are not undergoing training for medical reasons. Five crews are now preparing for future flights, and each one consists of two men: a commander and flight engineer. Ten people in all. Depending on the future, amplified flight program, researchers being trained in their own programs may later be included in the crews. The group training to fly the shuttle also has a special program (based on flight tests).

T. Spiridonov, Arkhangelsk: Are V. Savinykh, G. Grechko, A. Yeliseyev, V. Aksenov, and V. Bykovskiy training for new flights?

[Shatalov] No, they are not. V. Savinykh is now rector of the Moscow Institute of Engineers of Geodesy, Aerial Surveying, and Cartography. G. Grechko is working in an institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. A. Yeliseyev is rector of the N.E. Bauman Moscow Higher Technical School. V. Aksenov is director of a scientific research institute. V. Bykovskiy is director of the House of Soviet Science and Culture in Berlin (GDR).

S. Orlov, Suoyarvi: I still remember with anguish the tragic demise of the first Soviet crew of an orbiting station—G. Dobrovolskiy, V. Volkov, and V. Patsayev. Everything connected with that flight is dear to history. Would it not be possible to name the cosmonauts who were in the standby crew?

[Shatalov] The thing is that G.T. Dobrovolskiy, V.N. Volkov, and V.I. Patsayev were members not of the first but of the second crew during training for the Soyuz-11

and Salyut orbital station flight. The first crew consisted of A.A. Leonov, V.N. Kubasov, and P.I. Kolodin (he now works at Mission Control Center). Physicians detected some changes in V.N. Kubasov at the cosmodrome (later all this passed, and 4 years later he participated together with Leonov in the joint Soviet-U.S. flight under the Apollo-Soyuz Experimental Flight program). But in 1971, when there were just a few days remaining until the launch of Soyuz-11, physicians at Baykonur grounded Kubasov. If one crew member is taken off a flight, this means that the entire crew cannot fly. The State Commission made the decision: The second crew—G. Dobrovolskiy, V. Volkov, and V. Patsayev—would go into space.

I remember how upset Leonov, Kubasov, and Kolodin were at being taken off the flight. But a truly dreadful blow still awaited us all, when our comrades died during their return to earth. Everyone took it unbearably hard at the time. But it was impossible to look at Kubasov, Leonov, and Kolodin with their darkened, pinched-looking faces, feeling deeply the death of cosmonauts with whom they had flight-trained and who had taken their places...

V. Trofimov, Chelyabinsk: How do you see the future of cosmonautics?

[Shatalov] The industrialization of space. Plants in orbit that will give people materials and medicines that are inaccessible on earth. Satellite information systems. High-capacity orbiting power stations...

I am also sure that there will be lunar settlements (with the aim of producing many rare materials from lunar rock for terrestrial needs and lunar bases) and interplanetary expeditions, and that secrets of nature will be discovered that will make man truly powerful and that will bring people considerable benefits....

Military

Political Directorate Discusses Conferences

PM2601133589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 21 Jan 89 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report under the rubric "At the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate": "To Build Up Party Potential"]

[Text] A session of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate Bureau has examined the results of report and election party meetings and conferences in the Army and the Navy.

It was pointed out at the session that the recent reports and elections focused attention on urgent questions of restructuring and the implementation by political organs and party organizations of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference,

the CPSU guidelines for ensuring efficient defense building primarily through qualitative parameters, and the instructions of the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) Plenum. The majority of meetings and conferences were characterized by an exacting analysis of party work and the elaboration of constructive measures to deepen the process of its restructuring in light of the present tasks facing the Armed Forces.

Full approval was given to the practice of the report-back nature of political organs' reports at conferences and the assessment of their activity as an important step in realizing the principles of democratic centralism in the life of Army and Navy party organizations and toward the mastering of methods of political leadership by political organs.

Principledness in assessing the state of affairs, openness and democratism, and specificity of proposals were characteristic of the majority of meetings and conferences and were a good school for educating Communists and enhancing their sociopolitical and service activeness. Many addresses of progressive experience in the Army and the Navy, where restructuring processes are gathering momentum and embracing all spheres of life, combat training, and service, were named.

In addition to adopting decisions, a number of conferences adopted programs to further deepen restructuring of the activities of political organs and party organizations in realizing the decisions of the 27th party congress and the 19th all-union party conference.

During the meetings and conferences many interesting thoughts, comments, and suggestions were heard, which made it possible to weigh real achievements objectively and consign to the archives what is slowing up the processes of renewal in all aspects of Army and Navy life. The personal contribution of Communists to restructuring was assessed uncompromisingly, in an atmosphere of openness and principledness. Adherents of old, obsolete methods and ploys, those whose words were at variance with deeds, and those who during the period under review displayed arrogance, ignored the opinion of the collective organ, and were aloof from painstaking educational work with people were individually named. Many members and candidate members of the party were subjected to personal criticism. And this was reflected in the resolutions adopted.

The activities of political organs and the elected aktiv were evaluated in a sharper and more principled manner than before. In view of increased exactingness, the work of 2 political organs, 178 party committees and bureaus, and 522 party organization secretaries was deemed unsatisfactory.

Party committees and bureaus were formed on a more democratic basis, in accordance with the provision of the CPSU Central Committee's new instruction on holding

elections of leading party organs. The preliminary discussion of candidacies took place broadly, in an atmosphere of openness. Almost half the party committee and bureau secretaries were elected from among multiple candidates.

This report and election campaign was conducted with the active participation of leading local party and soviet organs—which contributed to mutual enrichment with experience of restructuring and helped to strengthen the unity of the Army and the people.

At the same time the Main Political Directorate Bureau session pointed out that certain political organs and party committees and bureaus did not take fully into account the special features of reports and elections or their significance and were unable to utilize very abundant opportunities to build up party potential at the new stage of restructuring. Reports and speeches sometimes concentrated on merely stating various shortcomings, not backing this up with in-depth analysis of the state of affairs. There was a shortage of specific, constructive proposals on how to involve the internal reserves of party collectives more efficiently in the processes of renewal.

Many meetings and conferences displayed a lax attitude to fundamental problems of the ideological work of political organs and party organizations and its influence on restructuring the awareness and thinking of Communists and all personnel. The reasons for the organizational sluggishness of individual party organizations and for their weak links with nonparty people were examined superficially, as were serious shortcomings in work on admitting people to the CPSU's ranks, strengthening the party ranks, and realizing criticisms and suggestions—shortcomings resulting from flaws in the style and operating methods of political organs, party commissions, and party committees and bureaus.

Certain political organs were not ready to report on their work under the new conditions at party conferences. Some of them were unable to extricate themselves from the rut of general discussion. This prevented them from submitting basic problems of party life and its influence on combat training, discipline, cadre policy, and the harmonization of interethnic relations in military collectives for broad discussion by delegates. And the level of debate did not always correspond to the scale of each Communist's responsibility for restructuring in the Army and the Navy.

The Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate Bureau made it incumbent on the political directorates of branches of the Armed Forces, districts, groups of forces, and fleets and on political organs of central subordination to carefully generalize the report and election results and implement specific measures to further deepen the process of renewing party work and ensure that political organs and party committees and

bureaus master political methods of leadership in accordance with the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference guidelines and the CPSU Central Committee January (1989) Plenum decisions.

It is necessary to develop active work to ensure the vanguard role of Communists in the struggle to assert the cleansing ideas of restructuring and to enhance personal responsibility for deepening the revolutionary transformations under way in the country. It is considered the most important duty of political organs and party organizations to realize the conclusions stemming from an assessment of the contemporary foreign policy situation and the party's demands with regard to the Soviet state's defense capability.

Political organs of all components must organize dynamic, systematic training for the party aktiv of subunits, units, and ships and raise the quality of rallies, seminars, and instruction sessions to the level of modern requirements. New, progressive forms are to be widely introduced. Efforts are to be concentrated directly in military and labor collectives. Party workers and activists are to be armed more concretely with the ability to influence the state of affairs through Communists working in various spheres of the Army and Navy structure.

Political directorates and the corresponding political departments must carefully investigate the state of affairs where the work of elected organs or of a secretary is deemed unsatisfactory. In conjunction with newly elected party committees and bureaus, measures are to be taken to resolve urgent problems, and the targets and goals for which every party organization is struggling are to be clearly defined. Criticism and self-criticism are to be developed, and they are to help successfully assimilate party work methods consonant with the processes of democratization and glasnost and to achieve a decisive shift toward the living person and his cares, joys, and concerns.

To eliminate the serious shortcomings in the ideological and party organizational work of political organs and party organizations exposed during the reports and elections, political directorates must give concrete assistance to the aktiv locally, promote a radical improvement in political and military education in units and on ships, and help to involve all categories of servicemen in the living process of revolutionary renewal. It is necessary to persistently improve multifaceted agitprop and mass

political work on explaining the CPSU Central Committee appeal to the party and the Soviet people adopted at the CPSU Central Committee January (1989) Plenum in connection with the upcoming elections of USSR people's deputies. Efforts in ideological work are to be concentrated directly in primary military collectives, they are to be put on a practical footing and aimed at specific people, and the personal responsibility of Communists for the effective education of nonparty servicemen is to be intensified.

An atmosphere of bolshevist openness, principledness, and party comradeship must be asserted in the everyday life of every party organization. Political organs' leadership of party commissions is to be improved, broad glasnost is to be ensured in their work, and ties with Communists are to be strengthened. A resolute and uncompromising struggle is to be waged for the purity of the party's ranks, and it is necessary to try to ensure that the vanguard role of Communists is expressed in specific actions and practical deeds to enhance vigilance and combat readiness and to strengthen discipline.

The criticisms and suggestions made during the reports and elections are to be generalized carefully in political directorates, the political departments of formations, and military scientific institutions and establishments. They are to be submitted for examination by the appropriate military councils and officials. Specific deadlines are to be set for briefing Communists on these questions.

The Main Political Directorate Party Organizational Work Directorate is entrusted with generalizing the criticisms and suggestions addressed to the Main Political Directorate and the USSR Defense Ministry's central apparatus at report and election meetings and conferences.

It is important that all constructive suggestions be turned into real deeds and promote the achievement of positive changes in the activities of political organs, party organizations, and all personnel.

The Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate Bureau made it incumbent on the editorial boards of the newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA and the journal KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL and on district and fleet newspapers to provide vivid, competent, and convincing coverage of the positive work experience accumulated by political organs and party organizations in the course of restructuring and while fulfilling the decisions adopted at meetings and conferences.